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Jeremiah Baruch
THE IMMIGRATION PUZZLE

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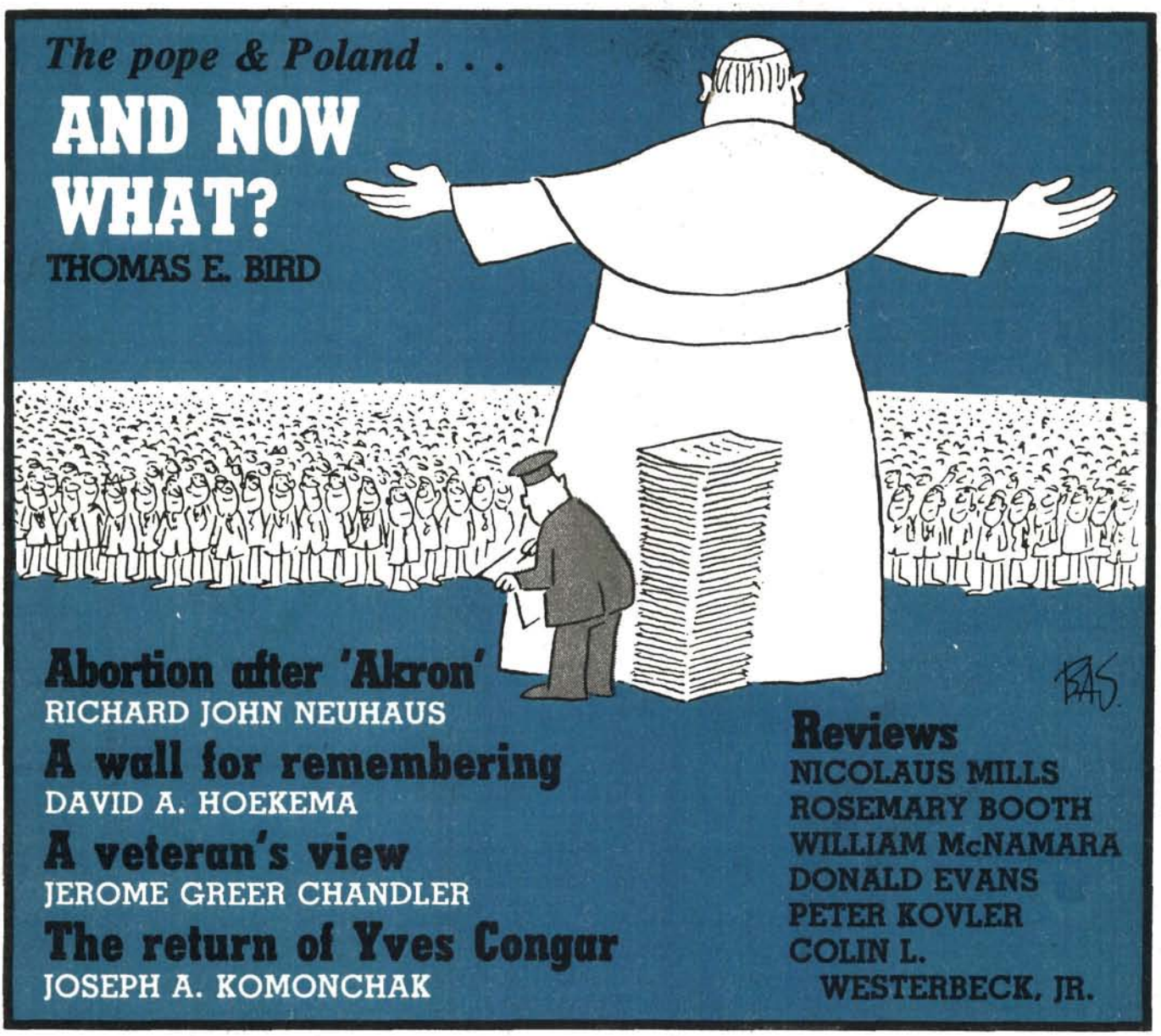

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Correspondence

Hans on deck

St. Paul, Minn.

To the Editors: I hate that phrase "I can't believe," but anyway, I can't believe that your contributors, giving a list of "recommended works in contemporary philosophy and theology" [April 8], omit Hans Küng's *Does God Exist?* Küng in *Does God Exist?* does precisely what, for example, Robert Egan mentions, "Catholic theologians enter into dialogue with various philosophical points of view — Hegel, Marx, Whitehead, etc."

This is precisely what Küng does, uniting all kinds of modern (and semi-modern) points of view around the idea of God's existence. Heck, you could skip most of the rest of the books, and read *Does God Exist?*

(REV.) FRED MERTZ

Polls apart

Flushing, N.Y.

To the Editors: When will we hear an end to the silly argument that a Catholic should have the right to choose to abort a life because some pollster claims a majority of "American Catholics" believe it's all right [Ms. Christine Niebrzydowski, Letters, April 8].

The typical American Catholic tolerates and participates in a lot of anti-Christian behavior from racism to violence, from pornography to marital infidelity, and on a given occasion will call these things the "right, moral and loving decision." The typical American Catholic could not fill up sixty seconds lecturing on everything he or she knows about the faith. All of this in addition to the basic fact that moral truth is never determined by popular consensus.

The popular inclination to insult rather than understand the church's teaching is reflected in Ms. Niebryzydowski's misinformed opinion about canon law. Excommunicative penalties are imposed when there are no statutes from secular society to cause the individual to think twice about his or her behavior.

The church has always rightly taught that God ultimately judges us, in terms of salvation, by our fidelity to our individual conscience. This, however, does not preclude the realization that, as Christians, we have chosen to make a special commitment to forming that conscience on Christian precepts. The sanctity of life is preeminent among these.

EDWARD J. BAKER

No neutrality doctrine

Arlington Heights, Ill.

To the Editors: Re the April 8 article on tuition tax credits:

Clearly, much of the opposition to tuition tax credits for private and parochial schools is based on a misguided and pernicious misinterpretation of the First Amendment, one that demands a strict and total separation of church and state. But, as the late U.S. Supreme Court Justice William Douglas observed in the 1952 case of *Zorach v. Clauson*: "The First Amendment . . . does not say that in every and all respects there shall be a separation of church and state . . . Otherwise, the state and religion would be aliens to each other — hostile, suspicious, and even unfriendly," Mr. Justice Douglas added: "We are a religious people whose institutions presuppose a Supreme Being."

The Founding Fathers intended the First Amendment not to safeguard society or the state from the influence of religion but, rather, to preserve and protect religious liberty from encroachments by the state. They believed that a society's public morality depends upon a religious foundation, and that the beneficial influence of religion on private and public morality is indispensable to the maintenance of good government and the survival of self-government. Consequently, they wanted government to be the champion and defender of religion and religious freedom.

The First Amendment scholar O. Carroll Arnold rightly observes: "One would never dream of asserting that the government is neutral toward freedom of speech or the press, and it is (or at least should be) equally non-neutral toward religion and religious freedom."

HAVEN BRADFORD GOW

Topics which matter

Invercargill, New Zealand

To the Editors: I've just received the March 11 issue of *Commonweal* containing Thomas Powers's column "By Way of Farewell." (Surface mail to New Zealand takes a little time!)

I'm not sure if I fit his description of the *Commonweal* reader, being a young Catholic priest who doesn't smoke (and never has) or have children (in fractions or whole units). I do agree that I don't know or appreciate the work of Samuel Johnson, but perhaps we *Commonweal* readers have (unconsciously) absorbed a little of his spirit.

What distinguishes the *Commonweal* reader? Yes, certainly "an uneasy sense of public failure," as Mr. Powers suggests. But perhaps something more: perhaps the stubborn conviction that conversations in drawing rooms *can* make a difference, the conviction (against all odds) that reasonable and humane people can search together for solutions to some of our failures, and that this kind of reasonable discussion can make a difference. So we are happy to exercise some of our 'discretionary feelings' in reading *Commonweal*, which specializes in drawing room conversations of extraordinary breadth on topics which do matter to ordinary people.

So I, for one, would like to thank Mr.

(Continued on page 413)

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PAPAL DEFIANCE, POLISH DILEMMAS

FROM OUR perspective, the pope's journey to Poland seemed to have been arranged in a mood of concession, was carried out in a blaze of defiance, and has ended in a fog of confusion. Stage by stage, our own mood has shifted from foreboding at what John Paul II had entangled himself in, astonishment and admiration at his bold defense of human rights, puzzlement at the contradictory reports of a church-state pact, and concern over the still very unsettled future. What should be stressed in the pope's messages to his people, his endorsement of the right to free associations or his appeals for accommodation? And how should these messages be reconciled with reports of agreements between the Vatican and the Jaruzelski regime *prior* to the visit? Is the church redefining or expanding its mediating role in Poland — or is it trying to recover an exclusive role as voice of the Polish people? What understanding was reached between church and state? How can a Communist dictatorship and Soviet satellite regime live with truly independent trade unions any more today than two years ago? Such questions proliferate. Answers to them come harder.

Prior to the papal visit, it appeared that Cardinal Glemp — and the pope — had gotten very little, and lost much, in return for the government's consent to the papal visit. A stalemated Walesa was released, true, but there was no general amnesty, and the church backed away from support of the November 10 general strike called by the underground Solidarity leadership. To many Poles, and many clergy, that appeared nothing less than collaboration with a hated regime.

Then the pope actually arrived, speaking boldly and renewing communications and self-confidence among the banned union's vast constituency. Dramatically, the pope's words shattered the line he has sought to maintain between the pursuit of social justice and "partisan politics." Jaruzelski trembled, and so evidently did many at the Vatican who prefer proper diplomacy and abhor bold public gambles.

Was there a prior bargain between the Vatican and the general, something like an offer of cooperation, an admission that Walesa should assume low visibility, and an assurance that some form of revived independent labor union would remain under the tutelage of the church — all in return for lifting martial law, a limited amnesty, and other reforms? It seems likely, and not — given the threat of Soviet intervention — inappropriate. Still, it is hard to imagine what meaningful form of independent union this government could find acceptable; moveover, the idea that the church implicate itself in forcing unions to hew a line set by the government is a bad one.

In any case, the next move would seem to be Jaruzelski's. Despite Soviet might over the border, he's in a tough fix. He can frighten laborers into plants; he can't inspire them to work hard there. Productivity fell another eight percent last year. Western sanctions have hurt, though not much. The population, freshly aroused by the papal visit, remains resistant. The upcoming show trials of six intellectuals of the

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Workers' Defense Council (KOR) may prove a miscalculation. Designed to sever the link between the intelligentsia and the workers, the trials will probably reforge it, and contribute to the regime's image of illegitimacy.

In the 1944 Warsaw rising, the motto of the Home Army was "Polska Walczaca" — Poland is still fighting. The message remains true three decades later.

The Supreme Court

ABORTION AFTER 'AKRON'

THE CONTRADICTIONS ARE SHOWING

ON JUNE 15, the Supreme Court ruled unconstitutional, among other measures, even the slight regulations which the city of Akron, Ohio, had attempted to place on abortions after the first three months of pregnancy. In doing so, the Court struck down the similar restrictions established in twenty-one states.

In her dissent from the *Akron* decision, Justice Sandra Day O'Connor wrote, "The *Roe* framework, then, is clearly on a collision course with itself." The reference of course is to *Roe v Wade*, and O'Connor's argument, joined by Justices Rehnquist and White, is that the Court is caught in the impossible bind of trying to have it both ways. If the concern is solely for maternal health, abortion technology is moving the right to have an abortion "further forward to actual childbirth." If, however, the Court is serious about its previously professed concern for fetal life at the point of "viability," medical technology is fast moving "viability" back into the first trimester. In order to avoid the collision, at least three justices think it would become the majesty of the Court to consult a guide more constant than the latest bulletin about the techniques of saving or taking life.

The legal illogic is not the only collision course illuminated by *Akron*. There are two other collisions in sight, one almost certain and the other probable. The almost certain collision is political and bears upon the "pro-life" legislative agenda. Until *Akron*, otherwise well-informed people who did not want to think very much about it chose to believe that under *Roe v Wade* there was some protection for unborn life after the first trimester. This pitiable source of comfort has been shattered by *Akron*. "Pro-choice" activists publicly cheered *Akron* because it makes clear that the "right to abortion" is unqualified. The more thoughtful of them might privately worry about the consequences of the Court's colliding with the comfortable lie that made *Roe v Wade* tolerable to many Americans. The statement that the 1973 decision removed all legal protections from the unborn can no longer be dismissed as "an extreme interpretation." Six old men have made it official.

I say "six old men" not to be insulting but because it is a fact pertinent to the third and probable collision. O'Connor, Rehnquist, and White are likely to be around for some time. Their dissent leaves no room for doubt that, if they had their way, the collision would be head-on and devastating to *Roe v Wade*. As Justice Powell, writing for the current majority, notes, "The dissenting opinion rejects the basic premise of *Roe* and its progeny." Precisely. According to the dissent: "At any stage in pregnancy, there is the *potential* for human life. The choice of viability as the point at which the state interest in *potential* life becomes compelling is no less arbitrary than choosing any point before viability or any point afterward. Accordingly . . . the state's interest in protecting potential human life exists throughout the pregnancy."

Significantly, a seemingly weary majority does not even attempt to defend the illogic of *Roe v Wade*. It simply invokes the doctrine of *stare decisis* ("stand by the decision"). Even while doing so, it admits that the doctrine is "perhaps never entirely persuasive in a constitutional question" but nonetheless "demands respect in a society governed by the rule of law." The law is the law is the law. The alternative is to acknowledge that *Roe v Wade* was in error and, more than ten million deaths later, the implications of that are too horrible to contemplate. Six old men, and soon there will be five or four or maybe even three. If Ronald Reagan fills the vacancies, it is highly probable that today's majority opinion on abortion will become tomorrow's dissent. In view of our dreary clutch of candidates, this poses a hard choice for those of us who are Democrats. Only Reuben Askew seems to have heard of the millions of voters who are "pro-life." If Jesse Jackson joins the race, it would be of more than passing interest to see whether he maintains his eloquent protest of abortion as "a war against the poor." If neither Askew nor Jackson is the candidate, however, we will likely have to choose between Reagan and a candidate who would use his appointive power and political influence to perpetuate the most grave single injustice in our national life.

The pro-choice celebration of *Akron*, then, may be wrongheaded. As Justice O'Connor points out, the decision reveals a logic that is on a collision course with itself. Politically, the decision collides with the wishful thinking of legislators who wanted to believe that *Roe v Wade* did not really mean what it said. The third collision is between "the basic premise of *Roe* and its progeny" and a dissent that will with two additional votes become, as they say, the law of the land. Internal contradictions, legislative remedies, and the politics of the judiciary all combine to make it manifest that thirteen years later *Roe v Wade* is not the "settled public policy" that its partisans had hoped and claimed it to be.

RICHARD JOHN NEUHAUS

(The Rev. Richard John Neuhaus is the editor of Lutheran Forum.)

In keeping with *Commonweal*'s usual summer schedule, only one issue will be published each month during July and August. The next issue will be dated August 17.

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Washington report

HALF-OPEN DOOR

THE PUZZLE OF IMMIGRATION

THE TRAIN had slowed down enough — no one else was in sight as he started running alongside. His pace was just right as he grabbed onto the coupling and was pulling himself up. He paused to catch his breath. He was pulling himself up — to a job inland. Work! God, he needed it. Suddenly, the screeching wheels sounded like a man screaming as the freight cars slammed into one another like gun shots — one after the other.

The Border Patrol found his mangled body in El Paso's Alfafa railyards later on that morning. It has become routine to find unlucky Mexicans chewed up by freight trains as they try to cross the border illegally and travel inland to jobs — some just lose a hand or leg. Many more are simply caught and bussed back into Mexico for another try — maybe the same day.

The Border Patrol estimates that they only apprehend one out of three attempting to enter the country illegally — and yet over 2,000 illegal aliens are apprehended and returned *every day*. In fact, the Immigration Service has been catching between 900,000 to over a million each year for the past six years. Those that get away are added to the already burgeoning illegal alien population in the United States — estimated by the Census Bureau as being between 3.5 and 6 million with other estimates higher. But as they say in the trade, these numbers are "soft" data. They represent educated guesses at the number of Haitians, Dominicans, Guatemalans, Peruvians, Filipinos, Koreans, Indians, and Nigerians, among others, that illegally enter the country. Mexico is generally thought to account for fifty to sixty percent of the total — a country whose population between the end of World War II and 1980 has leaped from twenty-two million to seventy-two million — with today about one out of every two Mexicans being under sixteen years of age. By crossing anywhere along the 1,954 miles of border, Mexicans can seek an escape from fifty percent unemployment and one hundred percent inflation. In those circumstances an unemployment rate of ten to eleven percent doesn't look so bad — particularly given that the U.S. minimum wage is about four times that of the average on the other side of the border.

The prospect of finding work is generally agreed to be by far the largest factor in drawing thousands illegally across the U.S. borders and is the focal point of what has been described as the most comprehensive change in American immigration policy since 1952. Although it is a felony to assist aliens to enter illegally or to harbor or transport illegal aliens, the statute books so far have expressly excluded sanctions against *employing* illegal aliens even if the employer knows of the employee's status. This situation would be remedied by the proposed immigration reform bill — called the Simpson-Mazzoli bill after its chief sponsors in the Senate and House, Sen. Alan K. Simpson (R-Wyo.) and Rep. Romano L. Mazzoli (D-Ky.). Under Simpson's leadership, S. 529 passed the Senate on May 18, in much the same form it had been passed last Congress — only to die in the final throes of the House's lame duck session, buried by over three hundred amendments.

With the Senate passage the House has ostensibly a year and a half to enact an immigration reform measure, but the prevailing wisdom is that if it isn't passed by the August recess its future will be quite dim since it is not a measure likely to win friends for members in an election year — particularly when the issue pits major segments of the Democratic constituency against each other: labor, seeking protection of American jobs; Hispanics, fearing possible discrimination; and the black community, having concern for both issues.

Penalties for employers who knowingly hire aliens had been a major component of recommendations on immigration policy after extensive review by both the Ford and Carter administrations. Legislation establishing employer penalties had passed the House twice between 1971 and 1974, and was proposed by the Carter administration in 1977 but not enacted. Accumulated frustration over the illegal immigration issue led to Congress's creation in 1978 of the Select Commission on Immigration and Refugee Policy, chaired by Rev. Theodore Hesburgh. The commission's recommendations, issued on March 1, 1981, included making it illegal to hire undocumented aliens, granting amnesty for certain aliens illegally residing in the U.S. at the present time — legalizing their status — and establishing a permanent increase in an annual worldwide ceiling on legal immigration into the country. Save for the commission's opposition to a large-scale temporary alien worker program, many of the commission's proposals were incorporated in substantial form into the Simpson-Mazzoli package — after compromises with the Reagan administration, which had developed its own response to the commission's work.

The Senate-passed bill requires employers of at least four workers to check documents, such as driver's licenses or social security cards, and to keep records of those they hire. The House measure, H.R. 1510, reported out of the Judiciary Committee on May 16 (and referred to four other House committees which were to report by June 27), makes the verification and record-keeping optional until the Immigration Service finds an illegal alien on an employer's payroll. The Senate and House measures both provide for a series of graduated penalties consisting of civil fines; in the case of the Senate, of $1,000 and $2,000 for each alien for first and subsequent offenses, with criminal penalties provided for a pattern or practice of violation; and, in the House committee version, a penalty structure more graduated with an administrative citation by the Attorney General for the first violation (which need not be knowing), civil fines similar to the Senate's for subsequent violations, and criminal penalties on the third

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"knowing" violation. The Hispanic community has been adamant in opposing employer sanctions, fearing that employers anxious to avoid penalties will not hire those who "look foreign," thus exacerbating existing discrimination against Hispanics. In an effort to meet those concerns, the Senate provided that all employers examine specified documentation from all newly hired, with penalties for failure to do so.

Both the House and Senate bills would rely upon existing forms of worker identification for three years. At that time, the Senate proposes that the president implement such changes as may be necessary to establish a secure system of determining employment eligibility; the House Judiciary Committee calls upon the president to report to the Congress on the need for such changes. The ACLU, among other civil liberties groups, has raised grave concerns about the specter of a national identification card — not so much about its present use, but how it might be subject to government abuse in the future.

Amnesty for aliens presently residing illegally in the country is also a contentious issue. The Senate bill includes a two-tier legalization provision, providing for immediate permanent resident status to those who can prove they were in the country before January 1, 1977, and for temporary resident status for those proving they were in the country prior to January 1, 1980 (who can then apply for permanent resident status after three years). The House Judiciary bill authorizes permanent resident status for aliens who can prove they were in the country before January 1, 1982. The Senate would bar legalized temporary resident aliens from federal assistance programs and keep such benefits from permanent resident aliens for three years. The House Judiciary bill limits such assistance for five years to emergency medical care, except for the aged, blind, and disabled.

Those opposed to amnesty, even in a piecemeal fashion, argue that it condones and encourages the breaking of the law and gives away costly taxpayer benefits. But it appears to be the only humane option, unless the U.S. is willing to have massive roundups far exceeding in scale the deplorable exodus of four hundred thousand alien workers from Nigeria. Moreover, legalization would recognize the contribution that many undocumented aliens make to the economy as well as eliminate some of the conditions that lead to exploitation and blackmail of a huge underclass within our borders.

The Senate bill also calls for a yearly immigration ceiling of 425,000, excluding refugees for a 270,000 cap based on a six-category preference system which gives priority to family members and those with needed skills; but spouses, parents, and children of U.S. citizens are exempt from the limits. The Senate proposal would also set aside 350,000 admissions for family reunification categories and 70,000 for independent categories. The House Judiciary has taken the position, advanced by Chairman Rodino, that it is premature to change the preference system before the results of legalization are known; hence, no cap on legal immigration has been provided.

In response to the pleas of the agricultural industry, which has come to be heavily dependent on illegal migrant workers, both the House committee and Senate measures revise and expand the existing program allowing foreign workers into the country temporarily. The Senate would phase in the new temporary-worker program over three years. Many in the Hispanic community find the temporary-worker program offensive — saying to Mexicans, in effect, that the U.S. will find them useful as workers but not as citizens.

When the Simpson-Mazzoli bill was introduced last year, it took 45 pesos to buy a dollar; today it takes over three times as many. Given this pressure, it is understandable that the U.S. Border Patrol is apprehending forty to fifty percent more illegal aliens so far this year as compared to last. At a Republican fund-raising dinner on June 20, President Reagan warned that a possible Communist takeover of Central America could result in "a tidal wave of refugees — and this time they'll be 'feet people' and not 'boat people' — swarming into our country seeking a safe haven from Communist repression to our south."

Of course, the distinction between economic and political refugees becomes blurred for an administration that has authorized the Coast Guard to halt Haitian boat people in open seas and compel their return. The immigration policy debate is forcing Congress to face the economic and social realities of the great differences in prosperity between the United States and most of the rest of the world, particularly its neighbors to the south. Much of the present legislation being debated reveals a marked generosity for which all Americans can take pride. But the debate is not over, and fear and bigotry are waiting for their chance.

JEREMIAH BARUCH

(Jeremiah Baruch is the pseudonym of a Washington writer with a position in government.)

The pope & Poland

AND NOW WHAT?

RESISTANCE, NOT REBELLION

IN MAY, Cardinal Jozef Glemp, Poland's Primate, told journalists in Rome that both the church and the government were ready to receive the pope "if others allow it." On one level, the second pilgrimage was "allowed." But with the crowds having dispersed and the pope back in Rome, everyone in and out of Poland is asking "What now?"

The pope's visit was an unusual event. It is not unusual for John Paul to travel to distant countries. Nor is it unusual for him to address enormous numbers of people. What was unusual about the June 16-23 journey was (1) that his listeners — who in several cities numbered in the millions — not only heard, but understood the pope, and not merely his text, but everything that was implied between the lines and everything that was omitted; (2) that the visit was so unabashedly political; (the more the Polish authorities and the Vatican denied its

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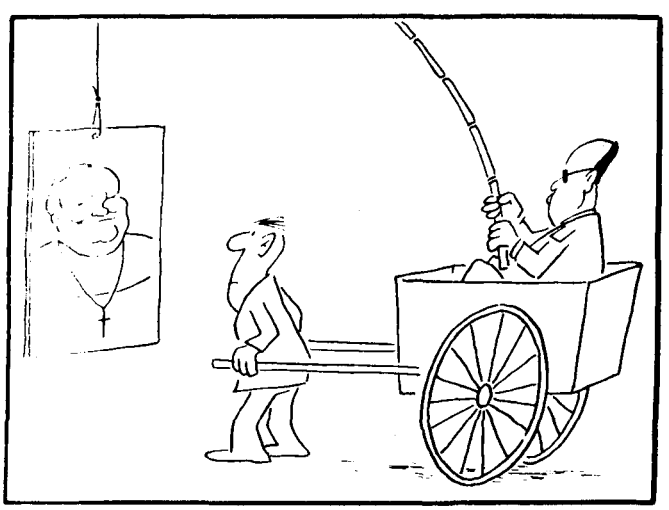
political character, the more apparent its social and political dimensions became); and (3) that the pope came to Poland at an unusual moment in that country's history, a period of "post-martial law." Officially introduced on December 13, 1981, martial law has in fact remained in force until today, although under another name.

Martial law was introduced in order to suppress the most massive people's movement in the history of Europe — Solidarity, the fledging free-labor movement. What a paradox that in 1980 in Catholic Poland the dream of Marxists worldwide was realized: industrial workers became the leading force in the transformation of a society. There was only one small problem with the *praxis* from a socialist viewpoint: the workers achieved this victory not against a bourgeois, but against a socialist government! This workers' movement — which, with remarkable speed, became a national movement — enjoyed the cooperation and support of the Catholic intellectuals and many segments of the Catholic establishment.

When the leaders of Solidarity, with Lech Walesa at their head, swore their allegiance to the church (in the words of a traditional Polish vow) "by word and sword," the church unconditionally embraced the movement and, somewhat belatedly, joined the national trend. When Solidarity was suppressed, and the impact of martial law was felt in every facet of Polish life, the position of the church became uncomfortable. Many of the liberties which the church had enjoyed were threatened. The hierarchy, headed by Cardinal Glemp, understood better than the man-in-the-street that martial law had been introduced at the inspiration of Moscow and with the close cooperation of the Kremlin, which was firmly committed to the suppression of any visible or violent resistance against the new Polish regime. (This understanding about the danger of the involvement of "others" had also been the basis of cooperation between the Gomulka and the Gierek regimes and the Catholic church.) What the subjective intentions were of the Party and government leaders who granted to the Polish church concessions greater than those in any other socialist country is debatable. But clearly both parties were interested in social discipline, civic responsibility, and the economic development of the nation; and both wanted to avoid a debacle of the Hungarian and Czech type which would not, in Poland, have been as peaceful as in those neighboring lands and could have evolved into a catastrophe for the nation.



AFTER THE INSTITUTION of General Jaruzelski's military dictatorship, the church had to decide whether it was time to change its attitude towards the state authorities or to continue some cooperation of the sort that had existed until then. A Hobson's choice. The church had to choose between continuing a policy of appeasement, thereby losing the confidence of Poland's patriots, or adding its powerful voice of criticism to the opposition and, eventually, assuming a large share of the moral responsibility for unrest, which could have led to an open uprising against the regime, which could have led to. . . .

The balancing-and-postponement techniques practiced by the primate evoked strong and widespread criticism within Poland. Many observers feared that the centuries-old identification of Catholicism and Polishness could break apart. The memory and spirit of the anti-Russian uprisings in Poland in 1830 and 1863 were abroad in the land even as the Vatican condemned rebellion against legitimate political authority. Meanwhile, the lower-ranking clergy — who were from the people — stood with the people. The politicization of parishes and of church services became a volatile fact of life in Poland, a fact duly noted by both government and hierarchy.

As John Paul prepared for this trip, he had to reflect on the changes which had taken place in his homeland since his first visit in 1979. During that pilgrimage his pastoral messages recommended the preservation of law and order and praised hard work and frugality. For his part, First Secretary Gierek emphasized that relations between the church and the state had entered a phase of cooperation, which he defined as everything which serves the development of Poland and helps to strengthen its security and its position in the international arena, furthers progress in social life, and undergirds the family. The government perceived the pope's remarks as a great boost for its economic plans and the people accepted these admonitions, knowing that they were the price of the relative religious freedom which they — in distinction from the citizens of other socialist countries — enjoyed.

Manifestly, the same slogan — *ora et labora* — would in 1983 have smacked of collaboration. John Paul had to avoid even the possibility of such an inference being made. On the other hand, if he limited himself to a summons to prayer, this would have implied an abdication of the earthly kingdom and a retreat to the spiritual sphere. No pope could have afforded to give back such a message — certainly not a Polish pope in his native land.

He could have postponed his trip, but apparently no one wanted that. The government was anxious for some kind of legitimization. (The hierarchy needed legitimization and encouragement as well.) Thus, the pope found himself called upon to give his blessing to two contradictory interests. He seems to have decided that his only option was a radical one: to take the offensive and speak bluntly.

Defying the government, the pope reminded them that the

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Poles have a right to know the truth, that they have the right to a decent life, that they should have the right to form their own independent trade unions. Here he referred to his own encyclical, *Laborem exercens*, which is better known and more appreciated in Poland than in other western countries. And in the style of Jean Jacques Rousseau, he reminded the powers-that-be that the people have an inalienable right to freedom.

But he didn't give a full and unqualified blessing to the hierarchy's stance up until now either. Admonishing them to be persistent in their work for freedom, he was obviously appealing to all those Poles who feel oppressed and dispirited to lift up their hearts. Indeed, *sursum corda* was the main refrain of John Paul's 1983 pilgrimage.

WHAT, IN THE practical order, can the upshot be of such encouragement, conveyed to millions who are in contention with the political establishment? The pope made clear in so many words that the government is violating divine laws and human rights. His listeners had to ask themselves whether that is sufficient reason for open resistance against oppression and, if so, what form this resistance might take. He left open the question of what the people should do in order to compel the government to fulfill its obligations and the written social contract of September 1980 — the agreements between the Polish government and the striking workers which gave birth to autonomous trade unions. This was in fact the only concrete advice he gave: Return to Solidarity. Return to the agreements which have been violated by the military government.

But defiance of these agreements is the *raison d'être* of the present military government. Can the pope reasonably expect that the government will commit some act of political self-annihilation — assuming that the Soviet Union, "the others," would permit such an act? Not in the wake of Andrei Gromyko's carefully-timed reminder that Poland is an integral part of the socialist commonwealth. According to the Brezhnev Doctrine, that means that the five thousand tanks in East Germany and the twenty-eight divisions just east of the Polish frontier have a clear and present role in the life of today's Poland.

The Poles face a problem dealt with centuries ago by the Fathers of the church and elaborated in greater detail by St. Thomas Aquinas. What should people do when the government is obviously violating natural law? First, the people have to consider whether rebellion — an evil in itself — will be a greater good than the toleration of the existing evil. Second, if the answer is positive, they must consider whether there is any real chance of success, and if so, whether this is the appropriate moment to defy the government.

Application of the Angelic Doctor's teaching to present circumstances would indicate that since there is no prospect of success — inasmuch as the military government is supported by the entire might of the Soviet armed forces — one should refrain for the time being from open defiance, looking for ways of assuring national survival until the time is more apposite for action.

The role of the church — and her shepherds — should be to serve as a kind of guide helping the nation to find the best way to overcome the current political, economic, and intellectual crisis. Polish Catholicism is well equipped for this task. Thousands of educated Catholics perform various important functions in all areas of life. Catholic newspapers and periodicals are available to them; they are well informed. And, finally, the result of empirical experience, they have a keen sense of responsibility.

Following the unsuccessful 1863 uprising against Russia, enlightened Polish circles appealed to the nation to abandon temporarily dreams of political liberation through force and to commence *praca organiczna*, organic work. They asked their countrymen to fight illiteracy, to educate new cadres of engineers, technicians, and intellectuals of every kind.

In 1983 Poland is once again in political shambles, once again in thrall to Russian imperialist interests. And once again the Poles have the western world's sympathy—and that is about all. No western nation is about to cancel a single profitable contract for the sake of "their freedom and ours." There is a need to commence a new phase of organic work in order to preserve the substance of the Polish nation: to save and reinforce its national culture, to further its economic development, and to assure freedom of conscience and religious practice. Cooperation, yes. Collaboration, no.

How can this be accomplished? There are no clear and carefully worked out formulas. The pope's trip could have been helpful in this respect but it does not seem that these considerations ranked high on the agenda of the bishops who took part in preparing for the pope's trip. The bishops rested satisfied with the people's response to the pope, delighted with the surge of religiosity.

The courageous and vibrant faith of the Polish nation must mean that henceforth Polish Catholicism shall remain a perennial category in the life of the universal church. It also suggests that the means and methods which the Polish church finds for its relationships with society and its socialist rulers should serve as paradigms for serious study and research.

There is thus a common denominator between John Paul's first and second pilgrimages: the strengthening of popular Catholicism and the mandate to develop a new working relationship between politics and religion. Even John XXIII and the Fathers of Vatican II did not foresee an historical development of the type John Paul is pointing to.

Looking back on the pope's June 1983 trip, two things emerge. First, the Soviet Union has, since 1956, resigned from its ideological offensive, its attempt to *persuade* the West, resorting instead to a display of military power. The Soviet leadership view themselves as governing a world empire and are not concerned about questions of public image. Second, the task of organic work, of developing cadres of devoted, thoughtful patriots who will cooperate without collaborating — this task remains of pivotal importance for the foreseeable future.

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NO THEOCRACY BUT GROWING RELIGIOUS INFLUENCE

Religion & politics in Israel

ALAN DOWTY

IT IS HARD for us, in our Western secular tradition, to appreciate the profound difference of approach to religion and politics in an area of the world where the concept of secularization has never really penetrated. The Middle East might be described as the spiritual epicenter of mankind, an area in which religion has always been taken very seriously. It should not be surprising that in all of the Middle East traditions the idea that politics should be governed by religion is considered perfectly legitimate, and even a prevailing norm. One is reminded of the story that David Ben Gurion once received a prominent American Jewish intellectual who declared: "First of all, Mr. Prime Minister, you have to understand that I am a human being first, an American second, and a Jew third." Ben Gurion wasn't fazed at all, and said: "That's fine. In Hebrew we read from right to left."

Obviously our difference in perspective is very critical here. And I'd like to suggest that the role of religion and politics in Israel is in fact a result of the convergence of three factors, two of which are totally alien to the Western concept of secularization. These three forces are the traditions of the Middle East, the traditions of Judaism itself, and the history of Zionism. The first two of those stand in opposition to any Western conception of secularized politics. Let me take them in order.

In Middle East custom and practice there has never really been a division of religion from spiritual life. In Islam, religion encompasses all aspects of life. There is no distinction between the rules and rituals of what we nowadays categorize as religion, and the rules and regulations that govern all the other facets of life; Islam is a code governing one's total existence and the arrangements of society as well. In this sense, Islam is political from the beginning.

Secularization is a Western invention. It does not appear even in Western history until the last few centuries. One can also doubt how total our secularization is, considering the recent intervention of religious movements in politics in this country. Our secularization is by no means complete.

In the Middle East the link between religion and politics was expressed in the millet system of the Ottoman Empire. Under this system, each religious community governed itself in certain respects: in matters of personal status such as marriage and divorce, and in a number of other important aspects. The Ottoman Empire as a whole was the millet of the Moslems within it, but within that framework there was considerable self-governance among the Christian and Jewish communities scattered throughout the Empire. In other words, before the British arrived in Palestine there was already in place a system of religious governance for the Jewish community in Palestine, as small as it might have been, with its own institutions and systems of courts. The rabbinical establishment in fact governed in most matters of personal status and in many other communal issues. This was before a Jewish state was suggested, and before the development of a significant Jewish community with political aspirations.

Secondly, Judaism itself, like Islam, originally viewed itself as a way of life and not simply as a religion. Originally there was no word for "religion" in Hebrew. In response to Western secularization, the concept has been accommodated by stretching the connotations of existing terminology, but before that there was no word to distinguish what we think of as religion and the rituals of Judaism from the other parts of Jewish law. As in Islam, the law encompassed everything which we would now consider political, as well as religious. Consider the Ten Commandments, which in fact govern what would now be considered civil matters as well as ecclesiastical, or the often political role of the prophets in the Bible. The biblical roots offer no conception of the separation of politics and religion.

Added to this was the structure of the Jewish community in the Diaspora, where Jews had no political self-determination for a period close to two thousand years and where leadership was normally religious. Rabbis assumed the role of leaders not just in what we would consider religious affairs, but in political matters as well. Religion was central, of course, in cementing

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Jewish identity and maintaining it throughout the millennia, giving rabbis the central role in the community. But the word "rabbi" originally did not have a strictly religious connotation; it could be translated as "master" or "teacher," and referred to someone who was learned and therefore was consulted in all matters of importance to the community. Even Jewish communities outside the Middle East tended to have a great deal of self-governance in matters of personal status—they taxed themselves, disciplined themselves, and had their own welfare system — all of this under rabbinical leadership. And the great leaders of Judaism throughout the millennia — from Rabbi Akiba to the Baal Shem Tov — were all rabbis. There was no secular Jewish leadership tradition.

The third element is Zionism. Here, finally, was something entirely discordant. Zionism is part and parcel of the Western secular nationalist tradition. It was a movement for Jewish national self-determination in the same mode as other nationalist movements of the nineteenth century. One should add that there was a great deal of Jewish support in the Western world for the movement toward secularization. This obviously expressed the Jewish interest as a minority, since any minority is opposed to using the majority religion as a basis for organizing and governing society. Jews were at the forefront of the movement to remove religion from the politics of the Western world.

However, Jews soon discovered that substituting nationality for religion did not necessarily improve their status. Since Jews had no state, they were again in the minority in every country, and in some cases were even more pressed than before to find an answer to their own identity and their own political self-determination. Zionism was one of the answers to this dilemma, and complete assimilation was another. But given the subsequent history of the twentieth century, assimilation was discredited (German Jews were among the most assimilated in the world), and Zionism has emerged as a predominant answer in the Jewish community.

It should be stressed that historically Jews have considered themselves, and been considered by most others, to be a nationality as well as a religion. It's easy again in the contemporary Western secular context to regard Jews as another religious denomination, equivalent to Methodist or Episcopal. That would not be the case in most times and places, and Jews in late nineteenth-century Europe found it natural, in response to Russian, Rumanian, or Polish nationalism, to express Jewish nationalism in similar terms.

Like other nationalist movements of that time, Zionism was secular and even anti-clerical. Just as the nationalists of Europe sought to liberate themselves from all traditionalism, including clerical control of politics, Zionism sought new political paths free of religious restraints. Consequently, the established religious leadership was in almost total opposition to Zionism. They saw it as a threat to their own position of leadership within the Jewish community, naturally enough. They also opposed it on theological grounds because it threatened to establish the Jewish state outside the religious framework, as a result of the endeavors of man rather than of the intervention of God. They also opposed goals such as the rebirth of Hebrew as a spoken language, preferring that it remain a liturgical language.

In almost all respects the rabbis were the most vocal opponents to Zionism within the Jewish community. It was only later that religious Zionism developed, and while it gradually grew, it remained a minority both among Zionists, who remained predominantly socialist and non-religious, and among the religious Jews, most of whom remained opposed to the whole idea of Zionism until well into the twentieth century. Most of the founders of Israel were profoundly non-religious (Ben Gurion even refused to be married by a rabbi). The Israeli Declaration of Independence grudgingly makes reference to the Almighty in the form of the reference to the "Rock of Israel," as ambiguous as such a reference could be. In all other respects the leadership of the Zionist movement kept their distance from the traditional religious leadership.

HOW DOES ALL this fit together? We have a clash here between two forces that legitimize the linkage of politics and religion, and a third — very much a Western import — that leads in the opposite direction. One would expect a very contradictory and anomalous situation, and that is exactly what characterizes modern-day Israel. The clash of Middle Eastern and Judaic traditions with secular Zionism created a largely secular society with a strong built-in religious establishment, which in broad terms explains the role of religion in politics in Israel to this day. The religious establishment, with its system of rabbinical courts, still controls marriage, divorce, and most matters of personal status. A religious educational system exists alongside the secular system, and in a number of other aspects religious observance is carried out within the framework of the state. All state institutions observe Kashrut, the dietary laws.

In the society itself there is a striking division, almost a polarization, between the "religious" (*dati*) and the non-religious (*lo dati*). About seventy percent of the population remains secular, while about thirty percent actually observe the rules of the Jewish religion. (The best measurement of this is probably the choice of school; roughly seventy percent of the children attend secular state schools, twenty-five percent attend state religious schools, and the other five percent — the ultrareligious who still remain somewhat opposed to Zionism and refuse to accept state schools — have their own independent school system.) The religious Zionists (the twenty-five percent whose children go to state religious schools) are rep-

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resented in politics, to some extent, by the National Religious Party, which in the past usually received about ten percent of the vote but has recently dropped to about five percent. It can be seen from these figures that many religious voters do not vote for religious parties.

In the non-Zionist religious community, or the *eda haredit* — the five percent with their own school system, rabbinical courts, and other institutions — there is an uneasy coexistence with the institutions of the state. Their political vehicle is the Agudat Yisrael Party and the Agudat Yisrael Workers' Party, which together capture about five percent of the vote (this being a very cohesive and disciplined voting bloc). The ambivalent attitude of Agudat Yisrael toward the government is expressed by the fact that currently it provides the votes that keep Begin in power, but does not choose to sit in the Cabinet. In other words, Agudat Yisrael participates in government to the extent of enabling the regime it favors to remain in power, but will not itself actually assume responsibility for governing. There are also some extreme groups that do not accept the Jewish state at all — what one might term the surrealistic religious. One such group actually tried, after the 1948 war, to emigrate into Jordan, saying they would rather live under Jordanian rule than in a heretic Jewish state. Such groups are quite small although they sometimes manage to be quite vocal. Politically they are not important, especially as they refuse to participate in the political process.

THE POLITICAL SYSTEM, as it happens, is structured in a way that increases the power of the religious parties. First of all, there is a strong ideological tradition in Jewish politics that reinforces party allegiance. Historically the parties served as more than just a vehicle for votes; they were a way of life. The labor movement, the Herut movement, and others incorporated schools, newspapers, medical funds, and many other aspects of life. The religious population, naturally, organized itself in the same way. Religious parties, like other parties, existed before the state existed.

Secondly, the proportional representational system used in Israel protects the power of minority groups: fifteen percent of the votes meant fifteen percent of the seats for the religious parties. This fifteen percent, more often than not, was the balance in setting up a governing coalition without the cooperation of the religious parties. This put them, of course, in an excellent position to bargain for some of their own programs. The result is what might be called the "creeping religification" of Israeli law (looking for a term that expresses the opposite of secularization).

This religification is, however, marginal to everyday life in Israel, and comes far from constituting theocracy as that word is usually defined. What happens is that every time a coalition is formed, religious parties secure passage of certain legislation—the prohibition of the sale of pork, a Sabbath observance law, new rules on drafting women into the army—as the price for their support of the government. These pieces of legislation have accumulated over the years, but on the whole do not really affect the tenor of Israeli society. So long as the secular majority is not impinged upon too much, there is no serious opposition to this type of bargaining.

Much of this religious legislation is trivial and much of it is unenforced. For example, when the law forbidding the sale of pork was passed, a non-kosher butcher shop operating in what was then the Knesset building continued to sell pork products openly. Laws on Sabbath entertainment are widely ignored. Religious leaders seem satisfied to have the laws on the books; they would undoubtedly prefer that the laws be enforced, but meanwhile there is a *modus vivendi* with which everybody can live.

It should also be pointed out that, in accordance with the millet system, religious legislation in Israel applies only to members of the relevant religion. For example, the outlawing of pork applies only to Jews and Moslems, among whom pork is forbidden. It does not apply to Christians, unlike the Sunday laws in this country which forbid Jew and Christian alike from trading on Sunday. The main problem that remains, insofar as religious interference in daily life is concerned, is with non-orthodox Judaism, since the system does not provide for variation within groups. Other religions — Moslems, Christians — exist as recognized communities in Israel and are relatively unaffected by laws that apply only to Jews, but non-orthodox Jews from Reform or Conservative movements have trouble. Their rabbis cannot perform marriages, divorces, or any other normal functions of a clergy. They can practice their religion, of course, but they do not receive the same recognition from the state nor the same support that other religious groups do. This may, in time, become a very serious issue.

ANOTHER ISSUE that has already emerged in recent years is the growing alliance between religion and a certain kind of territorial nationalism. Historically the religious parties focused on purely religious issues such as the selling of pork, the conduct of autopsies, the recognition of non-orthodox conversion to Judaism, Sabbath observance laws, and — recently — controversies over archaeological excavations in areas thought by religious leaders to contain ancient cemeteries. Such issues can be significant — the Rabin government fell over a Sabbath observance issue — but they were not directly linked to questions of the country's basic political direction. Recently, however, the National Religious Party, the Zionist religious party, has become essentially hawkish on territorial issues, in opposition to its past "neutrality" on foreign policy questions.

The NRP has close ties with Gush Emunim, the group most active in establishing official and unofficial civilian settlements in the occupied territories. This has meant that the NRP has tried to accommodate the ultranationalists with which it has ties. Since the government has to accommodate the NRP, the result is a dynamic in which the tip of the tail wags the tail and the tail then wags the dog; Begin has had to fashion his policies in such a way as to keep the ultranationalist groups inside the tent. This has given a disproportionately small number of people a disproportionately large influence over the direction of government policy. Incidentally, the Agudat Yisrael, the ultrareligious non-Zionist party, does not share this

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hawkishness since it is not moved by the issues of the historic homeland and other "Zionist" aims that motivate the NRP.

One more anomaly is that the religious vote has not increased over the years. Despite the sense of growing religious strength, there is no evidence for the numerical growth of religious adherents, measured at least in terms of the votes for religious parties. In fact, in the 1981 election the vote for religious parties declined. The religious bloc as a whole won only thirteen seats, whereas in the past they normally held about eighteen seats. Nevertheless, given the arithmetic of the results they were in a stronger bargaining position than ever, since the remaining votes split evenly between the two major groups and neither could form a coalition without religious support. As a result, the coalition agreement concluded after the election deals with religious issues — concessions to the religious parties — in over fifty of its eighty articles. Many of these concessions, again, are trivial, but the total impact is one which has the secular Israeli majority more concerned than past bargains of this kind.

Still another reason for the increase of religious influence in politics is that Labor Zionist ideology is losing its dominance. Labor Zionism was basically hostile to the role of religion in politics, though prepared to strike bargains when necessary. The increase in Sephardic votes — Sephardic meaning Jews from non-European countries — brings to the fore a population much less hesitant to see an active role of religion in politics. Related to this is the rise of the Likud, the Right Wing; both the Likud and the Sephardic population (who supply most of the Likud vote) are more inclined to respect and even identify with religious demands. Begin himself is not religious in the usual sense, but he is very careful to observe all the outward forms — for example, walking rather than driving on the Sabbath when representing the state (as in his attendance at Sadat's funeral in Cairo).

It is possible, however, that religious influence in politics has peaked with the 1981 election, given the beginning of a real reaction against this kind of influence that followed the coalition agreement (as expressed, for example, in the struggle over ending El Al flights on the Sabbath). That remains to be seen. What is clear is that there will remain, over the long run, a very serious split in Israeli society and politics, more serious than the split between the different ethnic groups in the country because it is institutionalized in so many ways, and there is no consensus between the two sides on the ultimate shape of Israeli society.

HOW, IF AT ALL, does all this fit into the regional framework? In other words, how does religious fundamentalism in Israel compare with the "resurgence of Islam" that has made its mark in some of the other countries in the area?

First of all, there is no direct influence between the two phenomena. Religious fundamentalists tend to be each other's worst enemies; the ultra-religious in Israel, and Islamic activists elsewhere, would both be very hostile to the idea that they had anything to learn from each other. Nevertheless, certain similarities are obvious. Above all, the belief that politics is a legitimate concern of religion, and that religious authority and law should in fact dominate the political system, is common to both.

A second common feature is alienation from secular governments, sometimes to the point of violence. This is less true in Israel than in some Islamic states, but there have been some tendencies among the religious population of Israel to conduct a struggle outside the system, involving civil disobedience and mass demonstrations, rather than following accepted channels of dissent. Religious leaders have made the argument that certain moral issues release them from obligations to obey the state when a conflict occurs.

Thirdly, there is also a link to nationalist sentiment and to exclusivist claims, to the idea that certain rights are decreed by God, and that conflicting claims of other nationalities, peoples, or religions are therefore superseded. Under such assumptions, there is little room for territorial compromise over disputed areas.

Finally, in both cases there is often a state of mind that is not hospitable to pluralism, but which believes that a single belief system should guide society. Politics is seen as a matter of right and wrong, rather than of mutual accommodation and adjustment among different groups. This is of course in stark opposition to what we like to think of as Western political traditions.

But the differences are also striking. Religious influence in Israeli politics is not a case of "resurgence," but rather of steady growth in political power — and not necessarily even in numbers — over time. It is not an expression of social strain and reaction to modernization, as in other Middle Eastern states. It does not have an anti-Western character, as Islam often does in functioning as a symbol of revolt against Western influence. It is not a mass movement in the real sense of the word. It has borrowed some of the techniques of mass demonstrations, but essentially it is institutionalized and works within the system. As a matter of fact, the religious parties in Israel have been very skillful in manipulating the system to their benefit, and in some ways they are the most conservative elements within it since they do not want to change political arrangements that have worked so well to their benefit.

Finally, the religious parties in Israel operate in what remains largely a secularized, Western society — certainly the most secularized society in the Middle East — and face a vocal opposition that has no real parallel in any of the other countries of the region. There is strong resistance to religious influence within Israeli society, and religious leaders still often find themselves on the defensive. In this context, their ambitions of necessity are somewhat less total than the aims and aspirations of Islamic movements that seek to establish an outright theocracy. The bottom line is that, despite the entrenched position of the religious establishment in politics, there is little likelihood of a theocratic state. A more important concern, however, is the linkage between religion and nationalism that has developed in the last few years, and which may be tipping the balance in certain crucial foreign policy decisions.

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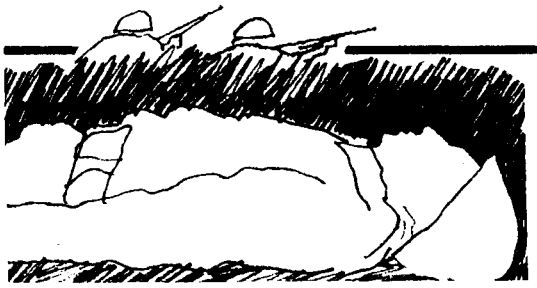

VIETNAM VETERANS MEMORIAL

A wall for remembering

DAVID A. HOEKEMA

FROM A DISTANCE it is scarcely visible, and the thin black line against the surrounding lawn would not draw one's attention at all were there not a constant stream of people walking slowly past it. The shape becomes more distinct as one approaches: two walls of polished black granite form a wide "V," each wall tapering to a point at its outer limit and reaching a height of ten feet at the center. The top, not the bottom, of the wall is at ground level, and at the center, where the two walls meet, the surrounding grounds have been graded into a shallow depression.

And it is at the center that the long list of names begins. Dale R. Buis, Chester N. Ovnard, Maurice W. Flournoy, Alfons W. Bankowsky, Frederick T. Garside. . . . It was in 1959 that the first Americans died there, in a day when the name "Vietnam" hardly ever occurred in our newspapers or our conversations. Line after line, panel after panel, the names go on, their names incised in the polished stone in the order of their death or disappearance. The list jumps from the narrow point of one wall to the point of the other and continues. Finally, once again at the center, we come to the names of the last to die, in 1975: Richard Rivenburgh, Walter Boyd, Andres Garcia, Elwood E. Rumbaugh, and Richard Vande Geer. On the walls of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial stand 57,939 names, mute remembrance of the American lives snuffed out in America's longest war.

Two uniformed Vietnam veterans, among a group of Midwesterners who have come to Washington for a few days to publicize the plight of the thirteen hundred soldiers still listed as missing in action in Vietnam, walk among the visitors with a thick directory of names and their locations on the memorial. Some visitors are merely curious about the newest of Washington's hundreds of monuments, dedicated in November, 1982. Others are grieving, their eyes filling with tears when they find the name of a husband, a father, or a son. Even those who chatter gaily as they approach fall silent for a few minutes before the somber black expanse of the memorial.

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There is a certain silence in the very design of the memorial. It is set into the ground in the gardens which lie between the stately columns of the Lincoln Memorial and the aggressive skyward thrust of the Washington Monument; from the center of the Vietnam memorial, the white stone of both can be seen in reflection. Nearby stand several monuments to the dead of the Second World War, their gilded swords and marble eagles loudly proclaiming the valor of the departed.

The Vietnam memorial speaks in more modest and restrained tones, neither glorifying nor belittling the dead whom it honors. To see it we must walk into a shallow depression in the earth, to the depth of a grave. The blackness of the commemorative wall reminds us of the reality of death, of men and women punctured by bullets or shattered by mortar rounds. Yet it remembers these horrors with a quiet dignity.

Visitors have interrupted the solemn simplicity of the memorial with their gifts and gestures of remembrance. When I visited, in late December, Christmas wreaths lay along the base of the memorial, and flowers were stuck into the tiny gaps between adjacent panels. A florist's bouquet had been delivered — the soldier's name and "Vietnam Memorial" were the only address on the card — with a message of love from "Mom, Dad, Peter, Dirk, Jana, Grandpa, and Grandma." Beside a package of vending-machine cheese and crackers lay a note in a child's hand "To my angel daddy."

Beneath one panel lay a postcard from the nearby Air and Space Museum showing a Sikorsky helicopter widely used in Vietnam; no inscription provided a clue to its intent. I shuddered, remembering — as I had remembered when I saw the helicopter itself a few days earlier — Michael Herr's account in his book, *Dispatches*, of sitting beside a soldier in such a helicopter and suddenly noticing, after the chopper took rifle fire from the ground, that the soldier's uniform was stained with blood and his eyes frozen in the blank stare of death. Thousands of stories such as these, I thought, are concealed behind the polished granite of the memorial.

IT WOULD BE foolish, were it even possible, to try to prevent visitors from embellishing the memorial with their own remembrances. Indeed, the very profusion of notes, wreaths, and dying flowers suggests the importance of the monument to those whose loved ones did not return from Vietnam. Maya Lin's design for the monument, chosen from among fourteen hundred proposals, has provoked controversy ever since its

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selection. The Vietnam Veterans Memorial Fund, which sponsored the design competition and raised funds to build the memorial, has responded by commissioning a realistic sculpture and the flagstaff at the apex of the two walls as if they together with a flagpole, near the memorial wall. (Early this year an alternate proposal, which would have placed both the sculpture and the flagstaff at the apex of the two walls as if they were part of the original design, was rejected.)

When I first read about this plan it seemed an unfortunate compromise with aesthetic Philistinism. But visiting the memorial changed my judgment. It would be presumptuous of me, I realized, to object to the added sculpture if it will communicate more clearly to the veterans and the bereaved of Vietnam that their sacrifice is remembered and respected. And the addition, in any case, will not diminish the powerful statement of the simple memorial wall.

Only a few hundred yards from the Vietnam memorial I sat one afternoon, at the height of the war, and listened with half a million others to impassioned speeches calling for an end to the war. Perhaps some of the other visitors had sat there too; or perhaps they had been among the supporters of that desperate defense of American interests and prestige which so deeply divided our nation.

But these differences seemed irrelevant as we stood there, canceled out not only by the passage of time but by the inescapable fact of 58,000 deaths. The names served as a reminder of who it was that bore the heaviest burden of death and bereavement. Certain first and last names, I noted, are Dutch, and I wondered whether they came from the Dutch Calvinist community in which I was raised. But names like Tommy Lee, Juan, Sammy, and Carlos were far more common. The proportion of black men who died in Vietnam was

A VETERAN'S VIEW

JEROME GREER CHANDLER

IT'S NOT an easy place to find. In a city of alabaster exclamation points, it hunkers in a cut just beyond the Washington Monument. You can see the famous landmark mirrored in the brilliantly polished black granite. The reflection is broken only by the names: 57,939 of them.

Seventy panels compose each wing of the Vietnam Veterans Memorial. The names of the dead and missing are chronologically arranged. If you have any doubts about where to find a particular inscription a guidebook at the nearby information booth provides the answers.

I had a general idea where I'd find what I was looking for: the middle of July 1970, panel 8 west. I was hit the evening of the 12th at the end of a fire fight. The NVA popped a rocket-propelled grenade over our position as we crawled out to tend the wounded. I was evacuated the next morning by helicopter along with a handful of others, having achieved the ultimate: the John Wayne Wound. Not bad enough to really maim, just a confirmed ticket back to "The World."

While lying in a warm, morphine-fuzzed convalescence in an evac hospital at a place called Phu Bai, the horror stories began to filter in: "Ya hear what happened to Delta Company? They got their _____ blown away. Lost 70 percent of their people." Unbelievable. A *day* after I left, my company was decimated, its reputation as the luckiest bunch in the battalion erased.

The litany began on line 18 in sharply chiseled letters .015 of an inch deep. There were those I expected to find, like the young artillery lieutenant; and those I didn't, like the former company medic who thought he'd finally been relegated to the "rear area." Wherever *that* was.

Our company commander was a clear-eyed believer from an Ivy League school. He could inspire confidence and performance. The Captain would tell you how our presence allowed the peasants to increase rice yields five-fold, and how MEDCAPS into the villages brought health care to people for the first time in their lives. He was right. In the same vein, he would tell you that D Company's mission that particular period in July was to act as a magnet for the elusive North Vietnamese. When they hit us, our artillery spotters at a nearby firebase would know where the buggers were. The man was honest. He believed in the war, if not in the mechanics.

He survived. Barely. During the fierce climactic fire fight of July 14 our company's scout, a North Vietnamese who had defected South, rolled over on his back, pulled the pin of a fragmentation grenade and held it to his chest. He didn't want to be captured. Beside him were the Captain and the RTO (Radio Telephone Operator).

Vietnam was a war in which sincerity and deceit were part of the same verb: *to win*. Part of the indoctrination process on arrival in the country for new members of the 101st Airborne was a talk by a South Vietnamese Lieutenant Colonel who had defected from the North. He provided us with a primer on Vietnamese politics. Those who had doubts about why we were there left the session feeling better. Maybe all that anti-war stuff back home was misguided.

Then, one evening I went to a bar in camp reserved for non-commissioned officers. In the corner near a juke box was the "South Vietnamese officer" I'd seen on arrival. This time he looked and sounded like a Mexican-American Staff Sergeant. In retrospect, I don't doubt his charade was sincerely motivated. At that moment, however, I felt personally betrayed. Nothing else I

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twice as great as their proportion in the American population. At the other social extreme — if the report of another visitor to the monument is correct — not one graduate of the Massachusetts Institute of Technology is among the Vietnam dead.

In Vietnam as in nearly every war, it was the poor and uneducated who died in the place of the wealthy and educated, and the young who died to defend the policies and privileges of the old. I thought of the comment of a friend who had seen the memorial a few days before: it reminded him, he said, that war is an institution by which old men trick teenagers into killing each other.

THERE ARE many lessons we can learn by reflecting on the experience of Vietnam: that guns and sheer determination can succeed in turning an internal struggle over self-determination and nationalism into a superpower confrontation, and that some wars can be lost in dozens of different ways but cannot be won. The present administration seems bent on forgetting these lessions, deepening its involvement and hardening its ideology in Africa and Central America. We can only pray that the headlong pursuit of confrontation and military advantage will not plunge the world into a war for whose victims there will be no monuments. For the next world war which daily threatens us all — whether it erupts from direct provocation, escalation of regional wars, or mere mistake — may be over in a matter of hours, and the survivors will not honor but envy the dead.

But when we turn from the global to the personal level, there is a great deal that we can learn from those who returned alive from Vietnam. They have been forced by their war experience, and by the deeply ambivalent reception they have received on their return, to come to grips with profound moral complexities that most of us have not yet faced. As Peter Marin has written in a moving reflection published last fall in the *Nation* (Nov. 27, 1982), we find in many Vietnam veterans "a particular kind of moral seriousness which is unusual in America, one which is deepened and defined by the fact that it has emerged from a direct confrontation not only with the capacity of others for violence and brutality but also with their own culpability, their sense of their own capacity for error and excess."

The practice of war is filled with troubling contradictions—between the ideals of freedom we claim to defend and the greed of war profiteers whose interests we serve, between the unspeakable horrors of napalm and mass executions and the acts of kindness and courage which war calls forth. Perhaps it is the very awareness of these contradictions, and the sense that nothing in human experience is purely good or purely evil, that has made it so difficult for Vietnam veterans to find a place in American society.

It is not too late to learn even from those whose lives came to an abrupt end in the jungles of Vietnam. Their voices speak eloquently in the silence of two black granite walls in Washington.

experienced during the war was as shattering.

Sculptor Frederick Hart was commissioned to complement architect Maya Ying Lin's compelling $7 million memorial with a life-size bronze of three vets. Mr. Hart describes the statues as "consistent with history. They wear the uniform and carry the equipment of war; they are young. The contrast between the innocence of their youth and the weapons of war underscores the poignancy of their sacrifice. There is about them the physical contact and sense of unity that is the nature of men at war. And yet they are each alone. Their strength and their vulnerability are both evident. Their true heroism lies in the bonds of loyalty in the face of their aloneness and their vulnerability." The sculpture works, but perhaps a high-tech, 3-D hologram of the ersatz South Vietnamese officer talking to his American alter-ego would help explain the look on their faces.

Before I left the memorial there was one last thing I had to find out. Dave and I had both gone through medic training together at San Antonio's Fort Sam Houston. Ours was one of those lightning friendships forged by olive drab pressures and common interests: like bock beer and MGB's. When training ended in the fall of 1969 we received orders. His assignment was Vietnam while mine, initially, was Alabama.

For some vets, the mere word "Vietnam" sparks flashbacks. For me, it most often prompted a question: "Did Dave make it out?" Until I saw the names in the stone I'd been able to avoid the answer.

Afraid of doing it myself, I asked a friend to look in the book. The spelling was unmistakable, one of those German names with an umlaut.

Minutes later she had the answer. "He's not there!" The people around us just stared as we ran into each other's arms. I cried.

Tears were nothing unusual in that somber place. But mine were tears of joy.

Screen

MAD DOGS & ENGLISHMEN

'BETRAYAL' & 'PSYCHO II'

THERE'S NO LONGER any glamour in falling in love. We all know that that's an illusion. The only romance today is in getting a divorce, as the movie *Betrayal* shows. Now that most of *our* marriages are not working out, either, we hold out the hope that at least splitting up will be as attractive as Harold Pinter's dialogue and the acting of the Royal Shakespeare Company make it seem here. *Betrayal* starts with a terrible row, a right shouting match in which Emma (Patricia Hodge) finally slaps her husband Robert (Ben

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Kingsley), and Robert slaps her back. But we don't hear any of that, not a word. We watch it from outside the windows of their home. We have a very detached view. The first word we hear somebody utter is, "Well, . . ." which Jerry (Jeremy Irons) says to Emma the next day, when she meets him at a pub to tell him her marriage is at an end. She just wants Jerry to know, about her and Robert, that is, and that Robert knows, about Jerry. Well . . .

From here the film proceeds as if everyone concerned were recoiling from those slaps, reeling backwards in time to the moment when the betrayal began, which is where the film ends. Everything in *Betrayal* has a circularity to it — the relationships among the characters, even the dialogue. Many of the conversations have an elegant pointlessness, as if all life needed were a way to pass the time wittily. One afternoon Jerry pops in on Robert at home, and discussion turns to the fact (it's been proven medically) that boy babies are more fretful than girl babies. "Why do you suppose that is?" Robert queries. Because boys are more anxious, Jerry suggests. "Now what have they got to be anxious about, boy babies?" Perhaps it's just that girl babies are less anxious. "Yes, why do you think that is?" "I haven't a clue." Marvelous. Dialogue like this really is, you know, when Pinter does it.

A little later Emma joins them. Robert is trying to persuade Jerry to play squash one day. Emma wants to watch. Robert is against that. "You see," he explains to her, "first there's the game, then there's the shower, then there's the pint, and after, the lunch. At lunch, you want to talk about the game, or cricket or books. You don't want any women about to make improper interruptions." It's all so very arch. Of course, one reason that Robert may seem especially so is that he already knows about Emma and Jerry at this point, which is years before the film begins. We know that he knows because after the quarrel with Emma, he told Jerry he did. What's more, Emma knew he knew, despite what she says to Jerry at the time. What Jerry can't fathom is why Robert didn't tell him back then that he was aware of his and Emma's affair. "I thought perhaps you knew," Robert says. "Knew what?" Jerry asks. "Knew that I knew."

The words are like leaves picked up and whirled about in a puff of wind, then suddenly dropped again. Everything said seems as inconsequential as that, and as fitful. By the time we get to conversations like that about the squash game, we have to stop and think just what *we* know about who's on to whom here, and who's not. It makes quite a difference in how you interpret what's said, doesn't it? Or does it? Trying to decide that is half the fun. The rest of it is watching Kingsley, Irons and Ms. Hodge exercize their considerable skills on such bright material.

AFTER THE PREVIEW of *Psycho II*, there was a party at Studio 54. As you entered the disco with the "Bates Motel" passkey provided in the press kit, doors, as if to motel rooms, lined the foyer. Inside both of those through which I got a peek, a shower was running behind a see-through curtain, and on the floor a nude body was slumped as if stabbed to death. Hurrying on to the press reception itself, we arrived just in time to watch Tony Perkins and Vera Miles, both of whom re-create their roles from the original *Psycho*, cut an enormous cake made in the shape of the film's spooky Victorian house. A largish kitchen knife of the kind Norman Bates liked to wield was provided for the occasion. The two stars gripped it dagger-fashion, smiled at the photographers, and, as their strobes popped all around the room, stabbed the cake. This promotion could easily have been dreamed up by the same people who made *Psycho II*, which gives you some idea what the film is like. At the end of their movie, a credit appears stating, "Producers Wish to Acknowledge Their Debt to Sir Alfred Hitchcock." The preview audience booed.

It astounds me that somebody should spend who knows how many millions of dollars to do a sequel to *Psycho* without having a solitary new idea in his head. Is it the producer, Hilton Green, who is responsible? Or writer Tom Holland? Or the director, Richard Franklin? It's all of them. What they have, instead of an idea of their own, is a touch-all-bases marketing strategy. On the one hand, they hope the film will work as a pre-sold property, one that appeals to everybody who remembers the Hitchcock film and knows it's a classic. On the other hand, they also want to appeal to that part of the current audience that likes its violence down and dirty, explicit, in a way the original *Psycho* never was.

The stabbings are the most surreal moments in the original. Everyone remembers them as terribly realistic, but that is only psychologically. Hitchcock achieved the effect of actual terror through pure poetic license with editing, point of view, music, etc. The fact is that we never actually see a knife stab into human flesh. The new film goes in the other direction, with the help of effects-master Albert Whitlock. When Vera Miles finally gets hers, we watch in sharp close-up as she is stabbed *in the mouth*. Later an overhead shot, a bird's eye view of the sort Hitchcock used as innuendo concerning Norman (who stuffed birds for a hobby), is adopted by Franklin only because it provides the clearest vantage point from which to see Norman bash in an old lady's skull with a shovel.

All the makers of the new film really have going for them is a scrap of parody, and Perkins's ability to camp it up in re-creating his role as Norman. This film picks up where the earlier one left off, with Norman's release from the mental institution to which he was being bound over when last we saw him twenty-two years ago. Yet the given situation is so utterly different that only a fresh, inventive approach could have succeeded. The suspense in Hitchcock's film depends on our believing until the very end that Norman, weird though he may be, is basically innocent. Then we learn just the opposite. That means the new film begins with him already a known schizo, a deeply ambivalent character. This is what gives Perkins a chance to bring the role back to life, if only briefly. Every word Norman says, every gesture and expression, no matter how casual, inevitably has a *double entendre*. Perkins imparts a great deal of ghoulish charm to his character by playing up this two-sidedness only very delicately. Norman seems literally to be two-faced at times, affable and winningly shy one moment,

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and then, in the blink of an eye, fleetingly sinister again.

The trouble is that the filmmakers are digging their own grave in the fruit cellar of Norman's personality. Norman is a character who can only remain entertaining as long as he's in a state of suspended animation, of paralysis. He's like a note that is being held and held by a lone instrument. Sooner or later, the player is going to run out of wind. The violinist is going to reach the end of the bow. What then? As soon as *Psycho II* has to go ahead and develop a plot of its own, it falls to pieces like the disinterred remains of one of Norman's victims.

COLIN L. WESTERBECK, JR.

Art

MAKING IT WRIGHT

A WHITMAN-LIKE VISION OF AMERICA

LIKE MOST GREAT architects of this century, Frank Lloyd Wright could not have had the career he did without an establishment to approve and sponsor his work. Yet when we think of Wright's important public buildings, the last thing that comes to mind are corporate monuments. Even Wright's offices — from the Larkin Building of 1904, to the Johnson Wax Administration Building of 1936, to the Price Tower of 1952 — are distinguishable by the way in which their design has been determined by the inner space Wright set aside for the people who would work in them.

That Wright's public buildings should have been designed along such humane and organic lines rather than in mechanistic service to the "form follows function" credo of modern architecture is hardly surprising. The glass-box qualities of the international style never impressed Wright, and he was even more put off by what he regarded as its "Grandomania." Whether his client was an international corporation or a wealthy family, Wright never abandoned his belief that "human scale was true building scale" and "architecture has no need for monumentality unless as natural beauty."

The best of Frank Lloyd Wright's work is not epitomized by his public buildings, however. It lies instead in his domestic architecture. There Wright found the ideal meeting point for his love of nature and his Whitman-like vision of America. Domestic architecture, as he wrote in *The Natural House*, allowed him to create "a home for our people in the spirit in which our Democracy was conceived: the individual integrate and free in an environment of his own."

The application of these ideals is evident in Wright's work as early as the prairie houses he designed in and around Chicago during the first decade of this century. Built close to the ground with overhanging roofs and low terrace walls that further emphasize their horizontality, the prairie houses were perfect for the flat, relatively small plots of land on which they rested. They provided their owners with privacy and yet gave the feeling of reaching beyond themselves to the surrounding neighborhood. But for Wright the prairie houses were only the first stage in the evolution of his domestic architecture. His genius for designing houses would not reach its peak until the depression with the Kaufman "Fallingwater" House in 1936 and Taliesin West in 1938.

To reach that peak, Wright would, however, need the kind of space that allowed him to incorporate his houses so deeply into the landscape that they became part of it, and he would not begin to find such freedom until he left Chicago and started to build in the countryside of Wisconsin and Minnesota. Now, thanks to the Metropolitan Museum of Art, an example of what Wright accomplished in the years after 1910 and before his great houses of the 1930s is available to a broad public audience. Over the last year, the living room of Northome, the house Wright built (1912-1914) for the Francis Little family of Wayzata, Minnesota, has become a permament part of the Museum's new American wing. The installation is a masterpiece of museumship. The Northome living room has not only been reconstructed brick for brick within the Metropolitan, the Museum has recognized the degree to which the room itself depends on natural light. We do not have, as in so many of the Museum's period rooms, illumination from flourescent lights hidden behind false windows. The Metropolican had the architects of its American wing cut windows into the museum wall that surrounds what was the south wall of Northome, and so, as the museum-goer enters the Littles' living room, he not only sees it in natural light, he is able to look back out its windows to Central Park.

All this care has been worth the time and expense. Northome sums up a crucial stage in Wright's commitment to designing houses that depended on an organic relationship to the land around them. Its living room is unusually large (30 x 45 feet with a 14-foot ceiling), but as we enter it, its openness rather than its size is what is impressive. Northome's high ceiling and skylight do not produce a cathedral effect, nor do the windows that run the length of its long walls yield the exposed look we find in such homes as Philip Johnson's Glass House. The expansive, pavilion quality of the Northome living

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room has been kept in check by Wright's insistence on a humanness of scale.

We see this balance most dramatically in Wright's side windows. There are in essence two sets of them. The lower set are tucked inside an alcove and extend downward from a height slightly above a man's head to a ledge with window seats that runs the length of the room. The windows are tall enough to let in quantities of light, but at the same time by virtue of being set within an alcove they offer the kind of shelter that a bay window provides. The outward world is invited in, and in turn one is invited to look out — but from a protected perspective. Only with a second and higher set of windows do we begin to get a sense of the full dimensions of Northome, but because these windows are separated from those below by a ledge and from the peaked ceiling above by still another ledge, the feeling of openness they help make possible comes across gradually. By the time we are aware of it, we have adjusted to it. What might be awe has, due to the natural gradations of Wright's interior design, been translated into acceptance.

A similar humanness of purpose applies to the way the Northome living room lends itself to social use. The Metropolitan has furnished Northome with chairs, tables, and a couch Wright designed, and it has arranged this furniture as photographs and drawings show Wright wanted it. The result is a look that was much too severe for the Littles, who soon rearranged the room to suit their needs, but it is a look that, nonetheless, points up the basic comfortableness of Wright's design. Anyone entering Northome by himself would logically gravitate to the window alcoves or the Wright couch, which sits at one end of the room facing an open fireplace. In either case he would, of course, be surrounded by unused space, but from each of these spots there would be nothing oppressive about the unused space. It would be cut off from his natural line of vision. By contrast a group of people entering Northome would be drawn to the open area between the couch and the table-bookcase at the opposite end of the room. There they would have plenty of space in which to mill about, and if two or three of them wanted room for more intimate talk, they could find that as well. The same qualities that would put anyone at ease when Northome was empty would allow for privacy when Northome was full.

The installation of the Northome living room, although the consequence of years of planning by the Metropolitan, could not be more timely. It comes just as the purism of modern architecture is under attack, not only in such best-selling books as Tom Wolfe's *From Bauhaus to Our House* but from within the architectural establishment, where critics such as Robert Venturi have challenged the Miesian doctrine of "less is more" by insisting "less is a bore" when the architect sacrifices richness and complexity in the name of simplicity of purpose. The Northome living room reminds us that, long before the current objections were raised against the barrenness of so much of the international style, Wright observed, "Modern-architecture is Organic-architecture deprived of a soul." To enter Northome is to see why Wright made that observation and how in his work we have an American modernism that, save for its rejection of superfluity and false ornament, is radically different from European modernism. Its roots are rural, not urban; it is designed to meet rather than ignore the natural world around it; and above all, its emphasis is on the individual rather than mass-life.

In Wright's hands such American architecture could be austere the way Shaker furniture is austere. But it could never treat man reductively. The humanistic impulses behind it ruled out the kind of buildings that glorified the machine or proclaimed the hegemony of the corporation.

NICOLAUS MILLS

80 YEARS OF INDEFATIGABLE FIDELITY & SCHOLARSHIP

The return of Yves Congar

JOSEPH A. KOMONCHAK

THIS SUMMER Seabury Press will publish an English translation of Yves Congar's three-volume work, *I Believe in the Holy Spirit*. One might be tempted to speak of the work as crowning Father Congar's theological achievement, but that would suggest an end, which, thank God, is not in sight. At the age of seventy-nine, he is still working ten hours a day, and there is every reason to expect that this year too the quality and quantity of his publications will shame theologians half his age and unhindered by the crippling disease from which he has suffered for many years.

It has been seventeen years since a major work of Congar's has been translated into English, a cause of wonder for those who cut their theological teeth on his earlier work or who are aware that there is no theologian who did more to prepare for Vatican II or who had a larger role in the orientation and even in the composition of its documents. That it is even difficult to find his works for sale in Catholic bookstores suggests that it is appropriate to reintroduce him to American readers.

He was born in Sedan, France on April 13, 1904, the year of birth, by the way, also of Bernard Lonergan and Karl Rahner. He joined the Dominican Order in 1925 and was ordained in 1930. From 1931 to 1939 he taught fundamental theology and ecclesiology at the great

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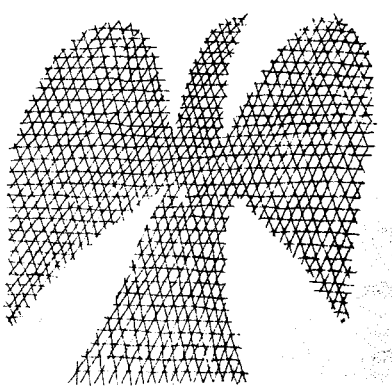
Dominican seminary at Le Saulchoir. In 1939 he was drafted into the French army, but a year later he was captured by the Germans and spent the next five years in various prison camps. In 1945 he returned to Le Saulchoir, where he taught until 1954, when a series of ecclesiastical decisions forced on him a new exile which did not really come to an end until he was invited, at the express wish of Pope John XXIII, to help in the preparations for Vatican II. At the Council he served on the Theological Commission and made major contributions to the Council's documents on the church, ecumenism, missions, the priesthood, and the church's role in the modern world. The Council represented a thorough rehabilitation of his reputation, and since then he has been able to devote himself again to the historical and theological scholarship for which the church has at last shown itself grateful.

In 1967 his biblography numbered 958 items, and last year he estimated it to be some 1630 or 1640 titles — a "quite ridiculous list," he called it. The list of his publications began in earnest in 1931, and since then, except for the war years, they have come in an uninterrupted stream. Their rate of appearance has not even been slowed by a disease of the bone marrow that has crippled his legs and even the hand with which he writes, now that he can no longer type. A visitor to the Couvent Saint Jacques last June found him seated at a large and chaotic desk, nearly hidden by the tomes from which he was preparing three major articles to celebrate the 500th anniversary of the birth of Martin Luther.

Ecumenism has been the chief passion of Congar's work. He has described it in terms of a religious vocation, experienced quite clearly in prayer as he was preparing for his ordination. At the time it was rare to claim such a vocation, so rare that at first it disappointed so open and generous a mind as that of M.-D. Chenu, his great colleague at Le Saulchoir. Congar first attracted attention by the publication of *Divided Christendom: Principles of a Catholic "Ecumenism"* (1937; Eng. ed. 1939), a work which historians of the ecumenical movement regard as a watershed in the Catholic church's attitude towards ecumenism. In this work, whose limits he now readily acknowledges, Congar offered an historical interpretation of the great schisms which have split the church, a sympathetic presentation of the distinctive characters of Protestantism, Anglicanism, and Orthodoxy, and a statement of principles for Catholic participation in the ecumenical movement.

Unfortunately, the same work which gained him a wide audience, including many non-Catholics, also brought him under almost immediate suspicion in Rome. In 1937 the future Pius XII communicated a decision refusing Congar permission to take part in an ecumenical discussion in Oxford which he had helped to prepare. Two years later he was informed by his superiors of Rome's difficulties with the book, and it seems that it was only his imprisonment at the time that enabled him to escape the condemnation that befell Le Saulchoir and Father Chenu in 1942.

AFTER THE WAR, Congar returned to his work. "Anyone who did not live through the years 1946 and 1947 in the history of French Catholicism," he wrote some years later, "has missed one of the finest moments in the life of the church." They were years alive with the promise of the biblical, liturgical, and patristic revivals, of "the new theology," of the worker-priest experiment, of efforts to construct a new pastoral theology and practice. Congar himself set to work on a major volume which proposed principles for an authentic reformation and renewal within the church; it was published in 1950 as *Vraie et fausse réforme dans l'Eglise*. (Many of the ideas in the work would later be popularized in Hans Küng's *The Council, Reform and Renewal*.) The notion that reform and renewal are a permanent necessity in the church would later be enshrined in Vatican II's texts on the church and on ecumenism; but in 1950, this was hardy stuff. That same year *Humani Generis* warned against "false irenicism," and Congar was informed that he was one of those intended by the criticism. Not long afterward he was forbidden to allow any re-editions or translations of his new book.



By this time Congar seemed to be irremediably suspect. "From the beginning of 1947 to the end of 1956," he wrote of his difficulties with Rome, "I knew nothing from that quarter but an uninterrupted series of denunciations, warnings, restrictive or discriminatory measures and distrustful interventions." In February 1954, the three provincials of the French Dominicans were all removed by Rome, and several of their theologians, among them Chenu and Congar, were ordered to leave their posts. Congar first went to Jerusalem and then, after being recalled for several fruitless months in Rome, was ordered to go to England where he was refused permission to teach or to engage in ecumenical contacts. He had to submit all his writings, however ephemeral, for censorship by his Dominican superiors. One of his most meditative and least provocative books, *The Mystery of the Temple* (1958; Eng. ed. 1962), took three years to pass through the hands of seven censors. Last summer, right after Pope John Paul II's dramatic visit to Canterbury, he illustrated the distance the church has come by recalling that one of his censors once asked him to put "*soi-disant*" before any reference to Anglican bishops!

In 1956 Archbishop Weber invited him to the Dominican house in Strasbourg, where, although he did not teach, he was able to return to his studies. Not able directly to be involved in ecumenical activities, he concentrated on historical scholarship which was to result in many important articles and books. When Pope John surprised the world by his announcement of the Council and saw to it that Congar participated, this work was to bear further and even richer fruit.

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His pathbreaking book on *Lay People in the Church* (1953, revised in 1964; Eng.ed. 1957 and 1965) was available to assist in overcoming the prevailing "hierarchology" (a term Congar had coined). A host of explorations in the history of ecclesiology enabled him to show the untraditional and impoverished character of viewing the church as a "perfect society" and to defend the richer notions of the church as "mystery" and "People of God."

When the Council was at an impasse over the question of Scripture and Tradition, his volumes on *Tradition and Traditions* (1960 and 1963; Eng. ed. 1966) helped to transpose the issue into a more adequate context. Long essays on episcopal collegiality, on authority as service, on poverty in the church, on the local church, and on catholicity as universal enculturation helped to divert the Council's ecclesiology from authoritarian models of Roman uniformity. It is no wonder that he could write: "I was quite gratified. The great causes which I had tried to serve had come to a head at the Council: the renewal of ecclesiology, ecumenism, the laity, mission, ministries."

As much as Congar could rightly exult in the Council's achievement, he has never regarded it as a definitive moment in the development of either the church or theology. A month before it ended, he warned: "The danger is that people will not *seek* any more, but will simply explore the inexhaustible warehouse of Vatican II. This will simply open a post-Vatican era, as once there was a post-Tridentine era. It would be a betrayal of *aggiornamento* to think it has been fixed once and for all in the texts of Vatican II."

Since the Council, he has not stopped either his historical investigations or his participation in and interpretation of the tremendous changes in the church that have ensued. He has published two major books on the history of ecclesiology, both, unfortunately, still untranslated. Several essays have illumined questions of infallibility and magisterium, the crisis of authority, and issues in ministry. Only last year he published *Diversités et communion* in which, in an effort to escape the present ecumenical impasse, he explored models for conceiving a future unity of Christians. And in a church particularly divided by the conciliar reforms, he has tried to address in more popular form the issues represented by Archbishop Lefebvre's movement, by the confrontations of the late 1960s, by the political and liberation theologies, and by the charismatic movement. In each of these controversies he has shown himself acutely aware of the values at stake and of the new questions being posed, and he has never practiced a kind of conciliar fundamentalism. He was too centrally involved in the Council's work to be able to pretend that its teachings represent the last word on any subject.

ONE MAY WONDER, then, why Congar's work since the Council, except for minor pieces and individual essays, has not been honored by English translation. It is certainly not because he is not worth reading nor because he has failed to address contemporary issues; and in a day when Rahner and Schillebeeckx are so readily translated, it cannot be because his work is too technical or demanding!

One explanation may be that Congar's work is not easily classifiable. He did not follow his contemporaries such as Daniélou, Bouyer, de Lubac and von Balthasar into a generally negative and even bitter evaluation of post-conciliar developments in the Catholic church. Nor is he much like Hans Küng, whose assessment of Vatican II, Congar once told him, is that it is like a half-empty bottle — Congar preferred to see it as half-full. Congar is much more the reformer than the revolutionary, not necessarily a popular position in the recent church where both extremes seem to have a certain stake in denying that there is a possible middle-ground.

And perhaps the issue is also methodological. Congar is the first to admit that he had an inadequate philosophical training. He is not representative of the shift to a theology which is critically constructed on the basis of a philosophical anthropology — as in Lonergan and Rahner — or in dialogue with critical social theory — as in Schillebeeckx and Metz. He is not in principle critical of this shift, and in fact he has some very interesting analyses of the cultural transformations that make it appropriate and even necessary; but his own world of thought and language is still founded in the Fathers and in his beloved Aquinas. He himself is chiefly concerned to illumine contemporary questions by a retrieval of the great and broad Tradition rather than to attempt a new and critical reinterpretation of it. There are gifts and there are gifts, and, unfortunately, it may be true that his gift is insufficiently appreciated today when history and tradition do not enjoy a favorable press.

His great but particular gifts are again visible in the three new volumes on the Holy Spirit. He wrote them in part because he believes that Western theology, especially in its ecclesiology and sacramental theology, has not been sufficiently Trinitarian. Several times in the work he insists that it is not a "scholarly" study. Perhaps only a great scholar would claim that, meaning by it that each of the subjects to which he devotes a chapter deserves a monograph apart. Certainly few ordinary readers will fail to be instructed and impressed by the breadth of knowledge and sharpness of insight he brings to the studies here presented.

As in his other works, the historical inquiries are never undertaken for archaeological interest, but are offered as illuminating contemporary discussions, to take one example, of the contemporary spiritual renewal in the church (he does not like to see the adjective "charismatic" monopolized by a particular movement). Similarly, much of the third volume is an attempt to mediate the different appreciations and realizations of the Gospel which the Spirit has evoked in the Eastern and Western Churches. It includes a very helpful interpretation of the *filioque* controversy and proposals to resolve it. The work throughout is vintage-Congar, displaying the richness of catholicity across generations and cultures, evoking the past in order to understand the present and to anticipate the future. It is clearly a work of love, love of God and of the church. May I say that it is delightful to read a book by so great a

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theologian which can quite unaffectedly introduce the text of the *Veni Creator Spiritus* with the words, "The reader may like to join me in praying it."

One generation is often most ungrateful towards the generation immediately preceding. It is something to be grateful for that by his indefatigable fidelity and generosity of spirit Father Congar has made that unlikely in his own case. Whether they know it or not, there cannot be a single Catholic (certainly no theologian) who has not benefited from the work Congar has done and is still doing. He is one of those responsible for the church we inhabit today and for the freedom of mind and heart with which we can think within it, about it, and for it. "A poor disciple of the Fathers," he called himself last year; perhaps he will forgive us for thinking him worthy of their rank.

Books: THE PRESENCE OF GRACE

DURING THE REIGN OF THE QUEEN OF PERSIA
Joan Chase
Harper & Row, $13.95, 215 pp.

Rosemary Booth

HERE is a seemingly preposterous title for a first novel by an American writer whose context is Midwestern, middle class, and Protestant. Yet in its evocation of things fantastic, female, and finite, the designation couldn't be more apt. *During the Reign of the Queen of Persia* takes place in a small town in northern Ohio, for the most part during the 1950s. The story (or set of spliced stories) is told from an unarguably feminine point of view, and reinforced by incorporation of several generations. The whole business works, wonderfully well: not as propaganda or complaint but as art, with all of the equivocations, excesses, and cacophony of life.

To start with, the novel adopts a composite perspective, based on the observations of two pairs of cousins, near-teenage girls whose mothers, aunts, and grandmother enact most of the drama. Joan Chase settles the girls into two iron beds in the attic of a large old brick house on a mostly non-working farm. "There were the four of us," the composite narrator explains, "—Celia and Jenny, who were sisters, Anne and Katie, sisters too, like our mothers, who were sisters. Sometimes we watched each other, knew differences. But most of the time it was as though the four of us were one and we lived in days that gathered into one stream of time, undifferentiated and communal."

The sororal solidarity of the onlookers is matched by an older generation of "the watched"—the five Krauss daughters who are the novel's main actors. Their mother is matriarch of the manor house in which most of the happenings unfold, and Samson-like in her rage and strength. Her obdurate stamina supports the family, necessary if unseeing. But it is the auntly relationship, mirror of the cousinly diagonal, that provides the girls with models of distinction, endurance, and human bonding. While the youthful narrators (daughters/nieces) speak with a single voice, the older women bloom in variegated profusion. Thus, there is Aunt Libby, compulsive seamstress and moral guide, who advises the girls to "Marry a man who loves you more than you love him," a formula they translate into "hard work and cold potatoes." Or Aunt Elinor, a New York advertising executive who returns home from time to time to recycle her spoils—fashionable clothes, bright jewelry, new-found Christian Science beliefs.

The primary role, however, belongs to Grace, whose death is the novel's pivotal moment. As with James Agee's *A Death in the Family*, all other events in the story somehow feed into or flow from this singular happening. Though other tragedies (and other deaths) occur, it is Grace's death which both prompts and illustrates the closing-of-ranks among the women which sets them apart and secures the novel's viewpoint as feminine.

The female charcters serve as the fulcrum for change and development, men as their foils. Neil (husband of Grace) accurately reflects this distinction in his image of the moonlight, "falling in silent silver between the tangled trees in the orchard, fingers across the drive," which he said "reminded him of the family—

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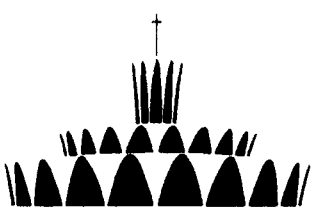

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some a little apart, on the fringes, a few tots here and there, the gnarled old crone in the center, and then the five sisters, close together, their slender branches intertwined, thrashing in any wind at all, making much ado about nothing. The sawn-off water-logged stumps he compared to the few men who dared to approach."

The farm's buildings reflect its division into two camps. While the barn belonged to Grandad, the house belonged to the women, "who . . . held it by superior numbers and adaptability." Even in death, the males' places were by no means certain. "I don't know what the rest of us are supposed to do," commented Uncle Dan, after learning that his mother-in-law had bought cemetery plots only for herself and her daughters. "Just wander, I guess. Outside Paradise."

Paradise it was, but after infractions had slightly dampened the level of perfection. Ms. Chase's tone evokes a tangible, lush landscape: "We were left in the kitchen with the black sea of night awash at the screens. Fireflies like flying phosphorescent fishes sailed through the orchard. Apples fell to their ruin. We could smell them softening in their own brine." The farm's richness helped to mark it as remote from the town, "a distance never calculated exactly because it wasn't a matter of space or time but one of difference."

As in Eden, there is ordeal and education, trial and error, but also the possibility of transcendence. Grace's dying, which provokes bitter stoicism, excites suggestions of immortality, illusions which only gain credibility from their emplacement within the mundane and palpable, as the girls observe: "We would often see Aunt Grace walking the back farm road, deeply concentrated. Once when we were coming home from the dairy with ice cream, we saw her from the highway against the backlight of the sky, there by the barn hill . . . and to us it seemed her figure was silhouetted, a shadow, indeed the visible incarnation of a present spiritual being. The newly cut grass was redolent of its raked crop and in the golden and purple passage of evening light over it we perceived again the incorporeal origins of creation. . . . We watched as if from the other side of a chasm, ice cream dripping down our arms."

None of this musing is allowed to suppress the battle to withstand and survive daily adversity, of course, well portrayed in the novel's conclusion, when Gram sells the house (a fire has destroyed the barn) and disposes of her belongings, retaining the Persian rug, not for its elegance but for its practicality. It substitutes for a file cabinet, hiding important documents and records, as the farm itself secured experience in its landscape. Gram's resurgent pragmatism is reinforced by the novel's circular chronology, so that we finish where we began in time, a reassurance of perpetuity. Metaphorically, if not actually, the Queen is dead. Long live the Queen!

Turn to the East

THE MYTH OF THE GREAT SECRET

Edwin Clark Johnson
Morrow, $10, 228 pp.

William McNamara

I AM weary, and wary too, of the glut of books on journeys — both inward and outward. Here we have another nearly typical inward journey (a far-out trip, man! and that's where it's *atman*!) by another precocious soul. And so, as the subtitle of the book indicates, it is a soulful "search for spiritual meaning in the face of emptiness." As usual, the journey is from West to East.

In the West some people — the live ones, the wise ones — sit down before facts, events, good and bad news, like a child. If they sit there long enough, growing up into adulthood without losing their childhood, taking long, leisurely, loving looks at the real, i.e., learning to contemplate, then meaning will erupt out of those everyday forms of Being, and their everyday minds (their body-minds, the attentive hearts) will be simply and wholly engaged. So beingful will these contemplatives become that they will overflow into the "fearful symmetry" of art or the creative and fruitful industry of work. In the West the obedient ones (*ob-audire* means to listen) are overwhelmed by One Word, which in the beginning, though divine, became flesh. So the flesh was always sacred and sacramental in the West; matter matters — except among those tainted and twisted by the dark clouds of Jansenism and gnosticism.

What the world needs above all else is a divinely empowered, Christ-centered, worldwide revolution and that is precisely what *mystical* Christianity is. That's why so many of the journeys to the East make me sad. Something of incalculable value, of supreme importance is lost. Turning East can be either helpful or harmful. It has been immensely beneficial to people such as Thomas Merton, Bede Griffiths, Raymond Panikkar, David Steindl-Rast, William Irwin Thompson, Harvey Cox, Richard Alpert, and Douglas Steere, among others. But I also know lots of people who, in turning East, lost their balance and ended up unworldly indeed, but with deracinated minds and deciduous hearts.

Oriental spirituality is one of the longest and deepest traditions in the world. Countless holy men and women have grown out of its religious disciplines. And what the wisdom of the Orient has recently begun to do is to stimulate in the West a new appreciation for its own Judaic-Christian heritage, its own mystical life. Thousands of religiously active — feverishly active — Westerners are starving to death spiritually. They go through the motions of religion without becoming any more significantly related to God or his world. Their religion is monkey business: keeping the rules, repeating the ritual with no religious experience, or more accurately, no mystical experience. That is the problem: Western religion is not mystical enough. And that is why so many people are turning to the East.

It is, however, almost impossible for Americans to import Oriental spirituality pure and undefiled. And its corrupted versions can end up supporting what they were meant to undermine: the isolated,

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empirical, competitive ego. So instead of becoming detached from the false self, the grasping, craving ego, we become banefully detached from real persons, places, and things, leaving them behind in our quest for the newest model.

Two things in particular spoil our Oriental imports: our consumer mentality and our psycho-idolatry. Americanized and psychologized Buddhism becomes Buddyism: casual and careless relationships because "nothing matters," irresponsibility with a spiritual veneer, a metaphysical license to avoid serious, solemn commitments, a mystical permit to skip from one person, bed, cause, or program to another without ever taking the plunge. So the superficial merging of Oriental and Occidental spiritualities does not produce a contemplative human being, but a competitive consumer of ideas, and a compulsive devourer of experiences. We can import all the light we want from the East but we will not become enligthened until we become more human, or to put it negatively and more politically, until we give up our personal and national quest for economic supremacy and military invulnerability. It is easy, even fashionable, to turn to the East. But to be open to the East requires a qualitative change, a radical conversion of mind and heart, a miracle of grace.

That is why I admire Edwin Clark Johnson. His spiritual journey from West to East and his psycho-religious account of it is, indeed, a miracle of grace. "Revealed in every aspect of the universe — on all levels of existence, from the simple material to the most advanced cosmological or most bizarre esoteric presentation of it — there is a secret. And it can only be spoken of in myths. Those individual myths manifest the myth of the Great Secret. . . ."

Why, since I am so tired of such accounts and so skeptical, did I read this particular book? In fact, I read it twice. Why? Because the publishers reminded me that the author and I had met. And indeed we had, over twenty years ago, when Toby (the author) was a Servite novice. It was the memory of that meeting (history) that induced me to overcome my antipathy toward "journey" books. So I not only read this book twice, but meditated on it for weeks. It is my conviction that if you are going to review a book you should *really* review it. But it was the meeting that seduced me. And there's the rub. How droll: this book is about the emptiness of everything, the nothingness of the other and therefore the vacuity of history. Yet it was precisely in that historical moment at precisely that geographical location in California that two distinctly differentiated human beings who enjoyed a unique and indestructible human existence, confronted and encountered each other's implacable otherness in an act of holy communion. That meeting was important because something supremely important happened *between* us. That *exchange* erupting at the core of every creaturely relationship is our best clue to Who God is — Love personified, sheer altruism, the Trinity.

So Edwin Johnson and I are indissoluble touchstones of reality. No reality (even God) is independent of touchstones; but neither is there any "touch" independent of contact with an otherness that transcends my own subjectivity even when I respond to it from the subjective ground of my being, and know it only in my contact with it. Events and meetings that are mindful and contemplative enough constitute the world of spirituality, and matrix of mysticism. In the silent and solitary residue of these events and meetings a way into the present and the future opens up for us. For these residues, I claim what cannot be claimed for any objective metaphysics or subjective inspiration. They are "touchstones of reality." It seems to me that what is needed today is not theological systems or linguistic analyses on a plethora of "experiences," but "an opening way."

Edwin Johnson abandoned this way while he was still a Roman Catholic monk, a Servite. When, as he says, he realized there were no specific truths, he found himself one day turning away from the crucifix and then — "My eye was caught by the poster on the wall opposite: George Harrison, in orange and green highlights, a blazing psychedelic vision, his eyes upturned and his hand, marked with a glyph of the all-seeing eye, raised in benediction, the *mudra* 'Fear not'."

And then, although his insights are deeper and broader than most "journeymen," his story becomes hackneyed. If his life story is so far a miracle of grace the miracle consists in this: that despite the roaring cataract of nonsense, the Secret has not escaped him. He is on to something and evokes wonder: his chief guides along his questionable way are Joseph Campbell, Buddha, Nagarjuna, and Carl Jung. He rejects the church as old-fashioned, outmoded, and over-institutionalized. He calls himself a mystic, compares himself to Thomas Mer-

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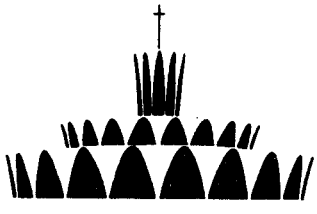

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ton, practices psychotherapy, and glories in his myth of the great secret. His book is full of sparkling, scintillating truths that contradict one another. This, of course, is inevitable once you are convinced that there are no specific truths, just a vast vague consciousness. "There is no self, no permanence, there is only suffering." And as Johnson and the enormously popular breed of navel-gazers would have us believe, a good dose of Buddhism can eliminate that.

Much of the teaching of the East and some of the apophatic theology of the West exaggerates the negative dimension. It is much healthier and holier, and far more realistic, to live acutely and wittily in the creative tension between "thou art that" and "thou art not that." It is essential to distinguish mere nothingness from the mystical sense of nothingness. To think of oneself and others as nothing leads to feckless folly or despair. To be haunted by a mystical sense of nothingness leads to holiness. We are *relatively* nothing — nothing apart from God, nothing except insofar as we are known, loved, and sustained in being by God's creative act. Our existence is fragile, contingent; we are next to nothing. If God ceased to uphold us for one moment we would disintegrate. Sister Elizabeth of the Trinity, a French Carmelite mystic, goes so far as to define mystical prayer as "the meeting of Him who is with her who is not." Our sense of nothingness is so trenchant that our need for the Absolute is absolute; our search grows out of a personal need for a person whose mercy and tenderness extends to the weakest and farthest depths of creation. The Secret is Love, not emptiness, not meaninglessness, but a love so unbounded and limitless that it evokes from the imperfect, or, rather, unfinished lover an eerie sense of the void.

This is a far cry from the God of Jung and Johnson — a God swallowed up in the big, expanded Self. If you believe in nothing but the sum total of consciousness, or in other Jungian words, the "collective unconscious," the "objective psyche," you become not a mystic but the abominable no-man.

Yet to wizened Westerners who seem finished, fastened as they so often are to the fixtures of religion rather than to the ineffable Godhead, I highly recommend Johnson's *Myth of the Great Secret*. It is bound to break through one's crusty old ways of thinking, one's inordinate attachment to words, images, and ideas however sacred, one's fear of the emptiness that lies just below the exciting surface of things, and provide a guiding light, an opening way toward Reality.

Johnson's way, however, needs to be critically assessed, for I do not believe, as he does, and as he thinks the famous fourteenth century German mystic, Meister Eckhart does, that all ways are equal. There are countless touchstones, some better than others. There are numerous myths, some truer than others. But ultimately there is one way, and it is not a doctrine or a teaching or a technique or a system of beliefs, but a personal, passionate exchange going on at the "still point of the turning world." This is the Secret: the sacrificial love that creates or (in our case) co-creates the inner (and *outer*) suchness of things. The funny thing about the Christian Myth is that God could not keep the secret. The telling of it was the Word, and the Word became flesh. And so Christ said: I am the Way.

Academic method & human reality

MIND
AN ESSAY ON HUMAN FEELING, VOL. III
Susanne K. Langer
Johns Hopkins, $20, 231 pp.

Donald Evans

FOR Susanne K. Langer the human mind is the greatest of all natural wonders. How can we explain the emergence of mind in the natural history of life on earth? This is the theme-question of her monumental trilogy, *Mind: An Essay on Human Feeling*. In her answer she avoids what she regards as the two main errors, reductionism and idealism. Reductionism explains mind in biological concepts which ignore the vast gulf which divides human mentality from animal mentality and, even more, from elementary organic life; Langer refuses to reduce poetry to merely an organic reaction favored by natural selection. Idealism postulates "spiritual" causes which allegedly have been operative in the world both before and after the emergence of human mind, and thus mistakenly animates nature with human-like agency; Langer refuses to elevate a running brook into something which can speak to us like a book of poetry.

Her own proposal, however, is not a compromise midway between reductionism and idealism. It is much closer to reductionism, for she looks to biological concepts to explain mind, though these concepts involve a revised and enlarged conception of biology. The concepts which she proposes are drawn from reflection concerning human *feeling*, which has a biological foundation. Human beings, like other animals, respond to their environment, but their feeling-response is expressed in *symbolism*, which is a way of understanding whatever is experienced in nature as having a *lifelike form*. This distinctive human way of understanding is specially prominent in art, but it can be reincorporated into science, especially biological science, *so as to enable mind to explain its own emergence from non-mind*.

A key concept proposed by Langer in a revised biology is "*act*," which she defines as, "a special sort of natural event arising from a matrix of similarly patterned events, and so organically involved in that matrix that all influences which can affect a particular act must do so by affecting the matrix, or organism, as a whole." Given such a concept, which goes beyond a mechanistic billiard-ball notion of causality, but which does not involve a pre-scientific projection of human-like agency on to nature, the emergence of mind can be understood as a natural outcome of pre-human history. And it is Langer's contention that such a concept is not merely another metaphysician's abstraction,

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which allegedly explains everything but which has for that very reason no relevance to scientific research. On the contrary the concept will be applicable in detailed scientific investigations.

Langer's trilogy draws on such a vast variety of intellectual resources that it is difficult to think of anyone who could be an appropriate reviewer. Is there any other brilliant philosopher today who is also as learned in virtually all the natural and social sciences as well as the arts and humanities? Such awesome scholarship, painstakingly focused in a passionate intellectual quest over a period of many decades, is itself an illustrious example of the "natural wonder" which she is so deeply concerned to understand. The trilogy will be tested, she envisages, by investigators in the various human disciplines on which it draws, especially the life-sciences. If her proposals facilitate further scientific research, particularly by fostering cross-fertilization between disciplines, her Herculean labors will be rewarded.

Volume III, which I have been asked to review despite my relative incompetence to appraise it in the scientific way which Langer sees as most appropriate, deals mainly with the origins of human belief in a spirit-world and with the more recent and reluctant human acknowledgement of the finality of death. She also considers the origins of monotheism, morality, punishment, sacrifice, cities, mathematics, and science. Anyone interested in any of these topics should read volume III, for her explanations are, at the very least, very stimulating and plausible hypotheses, and her mustering of evidence is very impressive. In this review, however I shall consider only the spirit-world and mortality.

How can we explain the evolutionary origin of rituals focused on a multitude of spirits: gods and goddesses, devils and angels, souls of dead people and animals, plus spirits inhabiting not only persons but also animals and trees and brooks? Such rituals, with their accompanying beliefs in spirits, have been virtually universal until recent times, and they have been practiced in a vast variety of forms. Yet the rituals have no evident survival value in relation to the material interests of humankind. Indeed for Langer it is amazing that "human beings who are intelligent enough to carry on the practical affairs of life can possibly imagine such absurdities and assert them as facts," for beliefs concerning a spirit-world are not only obviously false (since there is no such world) but also limitlessly varied, bizarre, and fantastic. The anomaly cries out for explanation. Langer responds by offering a complex set of interrelated accounts of what happened as mind first emerged.

From the beginning human beings have tended to see every event "in the guise of an *act* instead of an instance of a simpler, non-biological mechanics" such as has become common since the rise of modern science. And, unlike Langer and other modern minds, they mistakenly projected an agency behind the events even when none was apparent. This tendency began with the projection of our uniquely-human bodily feelings of balance and imbalance into physical objects as well as plants and animals. Such projection expanded into a projection of all the physical tensions which we feel, so that eventually human beings tended to see many other human feelings expressed in the shapes and movements of non-human entities, and with feelings, to see *agency*. Moreover, the early-human capacity for *symbolizing* not only was applied to external objects and events but also was exercised on its own as an imaginative power to conceive an unlimited range of possible entities and agencies. thus mind created a spirit-multitude not only indwelling the objects of nature which are observed through our physical sense-organs but also inhabiting hidden realms beyond the range of sensation.

The creation of spirits and of stories about spirits was further stimulated by the human sense that in affirming anything, *the mind affirms itself* and confirms its own strength. Thus anything one could imagine served as a statement, and story-tellers were admired for their fecund, unhampered imaginative powers, with no concern about objective content. In addition, the stories had a function similar to that of dreams. They were "safety-valves" as they produced symbols to deal indirectly with feelings and insights which were intellectually too advanced or emotionally too disturbing to be understood in clearly literal terms, especially the finality of death. Finally, Langer sees magic as a delusion emerging as an attempt by the human mind to control the fantastic spirit-products of its own creative imagination which otherwise might threaten to take over human-life. And magic also emerged from the unquestioned conviction that intense mental activity such as blessing and cursing must have some effects in the external world.

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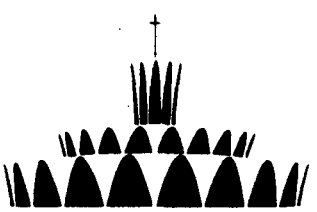

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As for human acknowledgment of death's finality, this has been reluctant because of the way in which we differ from animals in having a brain which achieves a partial individuation, a "matrix" of its own alongside its involvement with the larger matrix of the human being. In human consciousness this is felt as a partial individuation of the mind, which seems *distinct* from the rest of the organism, and which indeed seems to *own* the rest of the organism. So it seems as if I, the mind, could survive bodily death, and such survival may be deeply desired and the death of the "I" may be secretly dreaded.

Langer insists that of course we cannot live after the body dies, and she notes that human beings have been slow in facing this fact with the heroic honesty which is appropriate. Only relatively recently in human history have many of us acquired a realistic tragic vision of ourselves as mortal. This step forward in human consciousness, along with the rise and dominance of modern science and the gradual improvement in our moral perspectives, provide her with some hope concerning human progress.

Langer presents her explanations of belief in a spirit-multitude and of belief in life after death on the assumption that the beliefs are false, indeed obviously false and very irrational. But what if the beliefs are essentially true? Her explanations are still relevant and illuminating, though incomplete. In a similar way Freud's psychoanalytic account of the origins of what he regarded as the false and irrational belief in God is still relevant and illuminating, though incomplete, if God exists. Both Langer and Freud help us to understand the vast and conflicting *variety* of beliefs throughout human history, for the human mind has contributed much to the content of the beliefs in question even if they are essentially true. An investigation of this contribution can help those who hold such beliefs not only in better understanding their own motivation as believers but also in distingishing what is true and what is false in those beliefs.

To me it is *obvious* that there are spirits and that the human spirit can survive death and that what Langer calls "magic" is sometimes efficacious. My basis for belief is my own personal experience in investigating these matters. Thus I do not accept Langer's initial assumption that such convictions are obviously false, and I find her irritatingly condescending in her attitude towards people — most human beings in human history — who have held such convictions. But her perspective is one which is shared by most of the contemporary scientific community and, indeed, by the academic community generally, including even some Christian theologians, so I do not single her out for criticism. Indeed, I find her kind of explanation helpful in my own attempts to distinguish between genuine experiential discernment and imaginative projection as I critically appraise my own specific convictions in these areas.

For Langer the spirit-world is entirely a human creation, a fantastic delusion. But if she is mistaken, and human *discoveries* of super-sensible realities are actually mixed in with imaginative projections, the investigation becomes much more complex than she envisages. Personal explorations of the spirit-world are then at least as important as sceptical scientific investigations of beliefs concerning that world. A more broadly em-

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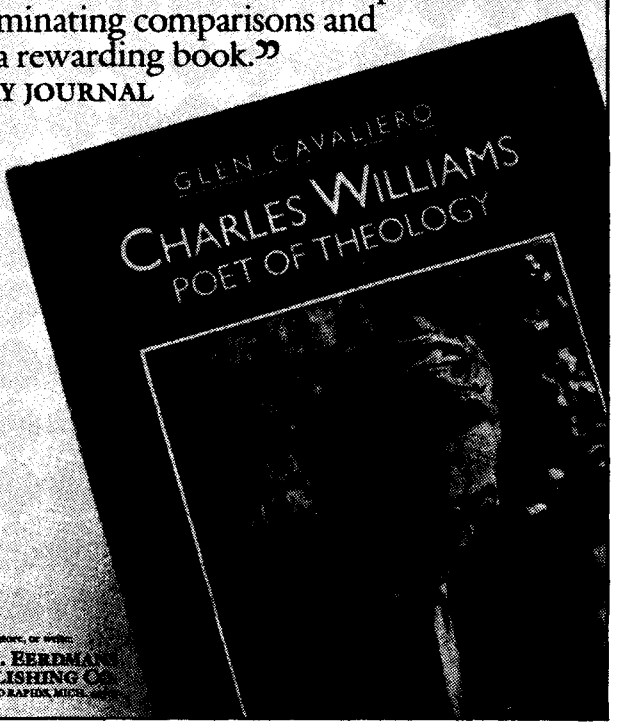

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pirical approach is required, drawing on both methods of inquiry.

My disagreement with Langer in convictions concerning spirits is linked with a disagreement concerning the place of scientific method — and, more broadly, "academic" method — in the investigation of reality. However much I respect the academic method I am convinced that it is inadequate in exploring most human activities and human beliefs, especially in spiritual matters. Detached observation and reflection, plus scholarly survey and synthesis of other investigators' observations and reflections, is not enough. And the inadequacy is compounded if an academic approach assumes that such-and-such beliefs are false because they cannot be supported scientifically even though there is an abundance of *prima facie* experiential evidence in their favor. When a stance of detached observer and acquirer of book-knowledge is combined with a scientific imperialism which refuses to acknowledge the limits of science, a truncated view of reality is inevitable.

An academic method of inquiry into human activities and beliefs often needs to be complemented by a method of personal involvement which brings first-hand personal experience of whatever is being investigated. This is true, I believe, in a genuinely humanistic psychology, where personal involvement in psychotherapy is at least as important as observations and book-learning. It is also true in any adequate investigation of spiritual matters. The method of personal involvement provides evidence which cannot all be corroborated by a detached observer, for such an observer is, by definition, not involved. Thus it fails the most basic testing procedure in contemporary science, which regards such evidence as merely "testimonial." Yet someone who has undergone deep psychotherapy may have experiences which are convincing concerning the reality of the unconscious, and someone who learns how to meditate in ways which allegedly provide access to spiritual realities may have convincing experiences of those realities. Indeed, their testimony may be corroborated by others who involve themselves in psychotherapy or meditation.

Scientists, however, cannot regard this converging testimony as evidence if they remain faithful to the strict tenets of their own method. Either they refuse to consider it at all, or they explain it by hypotheses which are compatible with what contemporary science can regard as possible (no unconscious, no spirits), or they investigate whatever publicly observable claims are included in the testimony. The latter two responses, in spite of their limitations, can bring some useful results, but the limitations should be acknowledged, especially in investigating activities and beliefs concerning spirits. In such investigations there is no substitute for direct personal experiences similar to those which have given rise to these activites and beliefs among human beings past and present.

But there is a third alternative to the method of science and the method of personal involvement. They can be complemented by a genuinely *open* academic method which is not constricted by scientific method or scientific dogma in its study of testimonial material, especially when this comes from persons who are highly intelligent, very sophisticated, and cautiously self-critical. For example, some Tibetan Buddhists are acutely aware of the creative projection at work in the "gods" which they encounter during meditation. And some Western spiritualists discriminate subtly but clearly between genuine spirits and "thought-forms" which seem to be spirits, or between genuine spirit-possession and multiple personality. An open academic approach need not assume that any such reflective testimony is true. It need only be open to the possibility.

Suzanne Langer's investigation of the spirit-world is not sufficiently open. Nevertheless she has shed considerable light on the human origins of belief in such a world, and she has contributed magnificently to our understanding of the origins of the human mind.

Nice guys finish first?

IN SEARCH OF EXCELLENCE
LESSONS FROM AMERICA'S BEST-RUN COMPANIES

Thomas J. Peters and Robert H. Waterman

Harper & Row, $19.95, 360 pp.

Peter Kovler

COMMERCE has never been the favorite subject of America liberals because those who have devoted so much of their time and lives to equality, justice, and the other essentially moral questions of the day have not had much opportunity to learn the ins and outs of making money. Unfortunately, this lack of similar goals has meant that American liberals have allowed themselves to become exceedingly misinformed on the subject of how corporate America works; and, as one consequence, they have had a relatively hard time in constructively participating in the current national debate on how to get American industry into working order.

The relative ignorance is reminiscent of what has happened in the "national security" debate where the Defense Department and their suppliers have familiarity with the details and the jargon of their profession and carry much more weight than they should.

This ignorance is especially deleterious as the conservative economists, technical analysts, and other money specialists become increasingly popular. How else can it be in a nation which is now obsessed with numbers from the Federal Reserve, the departments of Labor and Commerce, the stock and bond markets and the *Wall Street Journal*!

Certainly, there is nothing wrong with the increased focus on how to get the economy regenerated. To restate the obvious, the nation, its business and unions, are in a mess.

But what is worrisome is that the technocrats (sometimes known as business school types) who exist in labor and

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government as well as business, seem to be grabbing ahold of our futures. They are the ones, at least in the eyes of this Washington observer/reviewer, who are doing the "leading."

Still, there is a great deal of resentment out there against the dominance of the "new breed," and I think more than anything else, it is what accounts for the stunning popularity (second on the nonfiction best seller list) of *In Search of Excellence: Lessons from America's Best-Run Companies* by Thomas Peters and Robert Waterman. At a time when we are repeatedly told that American institutions should be directed and operated by technical analysts, a thoughtful and well-reasoned book has come along that espouses a few old-fashioned views on how things could and should work. The message is refreshing.

The Peters and Waterman idea is simple: These guys decided to go directly to a dozen successful American companies and see for themselves how those things worked. Like any half-decent reporter (and like most reporters, most business analysts are useless and passive), they actually went themselves, without delegating someone else to do it or without relying on somebody else's views, and talked to hundreds of workers and executives at some of the better companies. Their conclusions are, to use their expression, "a pleasant surprise."

They found that "excellent companies were, above all, brilliant on the basics. Tools didn't substitute for thinking. Intellect didn't overpower wisdom. Analysts didn't impede action. . . . These companies listened to their employees and treated them like adults. . . . They allowed some chaos in return for quick action and regular experimentation."

They selected eight attributes which characterized these organizations:

1) A bias for action, for getting on with it. Even though these companies may be analytical in their approach to decision-making, they are not paralyzed by that fact (as many others seem to be).

2) Close to the customer. These companies learn from the people they serve. They provide unparalleled quality, service, and reliability—things that work and last.

3) Autonomy and entrepreneurship. The innovative companies foster many leaders and many innovators throughout the organization. They are a hive of what we have come to call champions.

4) Productivity through people. The excellent companies treat the rank and file as the root source of quality and productivity gain. They do not foster we/they labor attitudes or regard capital investment as the fundamental source of efficiency improvement.

5) Hands-on, value driven. Thomas Watson Jr. said that "the basic philosophy of an organization has far more to do with its achievements than do technological or economic resources, organizational structure, innovation, and timing."

6) Stick to the knitting. Robert Johnson, former Johnson and Johnson Chairman, put it this way "Never acquire a business you don't know how to run."

7) Simple form, lean staff. As big as most of the companies we looked at are, none when we looked at it was formally run with a matrix organization structure, and some which had tried that form abandoned it.

8) Simultaneous loose-tight proper-

Civil Defense?

. . . The fly in the ointment, as always, is New York City. At current funding levels, planners despair of devising a workable scheme within this decade for moving close to ten million New Yorkers up to their Catskills refuge. The city's civil defenders got a long leg up, however, from the Stanford Research Institute. . . . The California think-tankers decided the job could be done in a mere 3.5 days by packing privately-owned cars and cramming everyone else onto buses, commuter trains, commandeered airliners and river boats.

They also had 300,000 Manhattanites jumping freight trains in Hoboken, an idea with unpleasant historical associations that was abandoned only after Conrail noted that, since modern box cars are airtight, such an evacuation solution would unavoidably be a final one. . . . Local civil defense planners may be rehearsing a dance of death, but Washington pays the piper. . . . Captain Wadsworth could be speaking from the Oval Office when he writes "the United States must perceive and address nuclear war as 'thinkable' and structure our strategic force levels and Civil Defense accordingly."

— David C. Morrison, *Commonweal* July 16, 1982

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ROSEMARY BOOTH *has a master's degree in city planning from Harvard and works as a community planner in Cambridge, Mass.*

DONALD EVANS *is a professor of philosophy at the University of Toronto.*

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PETER KOVLER *formerly served as Special Assistant to the Secretary of Commerce in the Carter administration.*

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ties. The excellent companies are both centralized and decentralized. For the most part, as we have said, they have pushed autonomy down to the shop floor, or product development team. On the other hand, they are fanatic centralists around the few core values they hold dear.

Given the fact that we are all currently awed by Japanese productivity and that half the business community seems eager to emulate them, it is reasuring to learn that perhaps we aren't so terrible.

In short, although the authors do not use such words, there is such a thing as a humanistic approach to this great big "crisis in industry." What are oftentimes called the "soft factors" are much more important than what our current culture would lead us to believe. Indeed, if Peters and Waterman are correct, it looks as if the old-fashioned liberal with his or her inclinations to believe in things as indefinite as on-the-job respect and equality will have the most to do with revitalizing American industry and getting people back to work.

Correspondence

(Continued from page 386)

Powers for his column. He didn't provide us with easy answers, but then people in search of easy answers don't read *Commonweal*. But he did provide us with a little reasonable and humane discussion in recent years on an issue which concerns the survival of us all. For this I am grateful.

If Mr. Powers ever feels that the time has come to "pack up and head off for New Zealand" (and I hope and pray that such a time will never come), then we will make him welcome!

(REV.) GREG DAWES

One for the record

Notre Dame, Ind.

To the Editors: I want to lay a ghost of long standing, once and for all, viz, that Friendship House is a branch or "offshoot" of the C.W. or "Catholic Worker - inspired." Friendship House is

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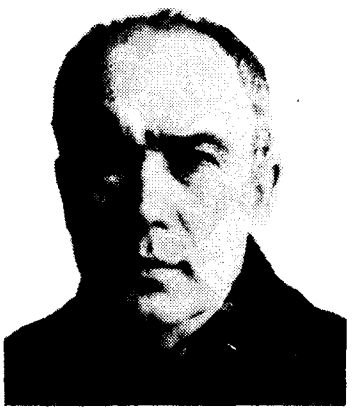

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not and never was thus connected. The latest error repeated in M. Piehl's book, *Breaking Bread* (reviewed by James O'Gara, May 6) impels me to try to straighten the record.

There are two one-line references to Friendship House in the book:

- ". . . The Baroness de Hueck's *Friendship House*, the interracial movement that started as an offshoot of the Catholic Worker . . ." (p. 129)
- ". . . he (Merton) had worked in Baroness de Hueck's Catholic Worker-inspired Friendship House for a period . . ." (p. 221)

(I was working at Harlem Friendship House when Merton came, and the "period" was 3 or 4 days, finishing with Father Furfey's retreat on the lay vocation he made with us, and announcing the next day his decision to go to Gethsemane Abbey.)

There were, of course, similarities between the Catholic Worker and Friendship House, but as I know from spending ten years on the Friendship House staff (1938-1948), the differences are basic, and may be briefly summarized thus:

- *lay apostolate* — we struck out in an entirely new direction, experimenting in a form of lay Catholic action without precedent; more structured than the C.W., less structured than the religious life, roughly speaking.
- *organization* — local branch heads were in charge of staff, programs and policies, and they in turn were responsible to the national director who had authority over all operations. Each Catholic Worker house was autonomous, functioning more like an organism, its adherents being free to follow, or not to follow, its local customs and rules.
- *Civil Rights* was our single, exclusive goal, to which everything else was subordinated. All our policies and programs were directed toward it, in the context of our Catholic beliefs. Long before — twenty-five years before, in fact — even the term "civil rights" was used, we took our courage in our hands and publicized the scandal of institutionalized racism in the church. But self-criticism, public admission of faults, was a no-no in those days.

The U.S. Bishops' statement on race in 1958 finally said out loud, "The heart of the race question is moral and religious," and I'm convinced that the twenty years of grueling effort that Friendship House workers had already spent trying to awaken Catholic consciences about racism had some measure of influence. How much is yet to be told.

The public confusion about these two movements happened possibly because of some similarities or coincidences. Dorothy Day and Catherine de Hueck were both dynamic, charismatic personalities; probably two of the most outstanding religious women of twentieth century America. Both began about the same time, Day in 1933 in New York, de Hueck in 1934 in Toronto (June 24, 1934). Both women pioneered in creating new patterns where lay people could work independently of the hierarchy though always loyal to the church (not mandated, as were the rest of the many Catholic action groups then flourishing in the U.S.). And they arrived at their vision separately, each in her own individual way.

We in the two movements frequently visited and broke bread with one another, helped and supported each other in many ways. In a sense, it is an honor to have Friendship House confused with the uniquely beautiful Catholic Worker movement, but I just want to set the record straight.

ANN HARRIGAN MAKLETZOFF
Cushwa Center for American
Catholic History
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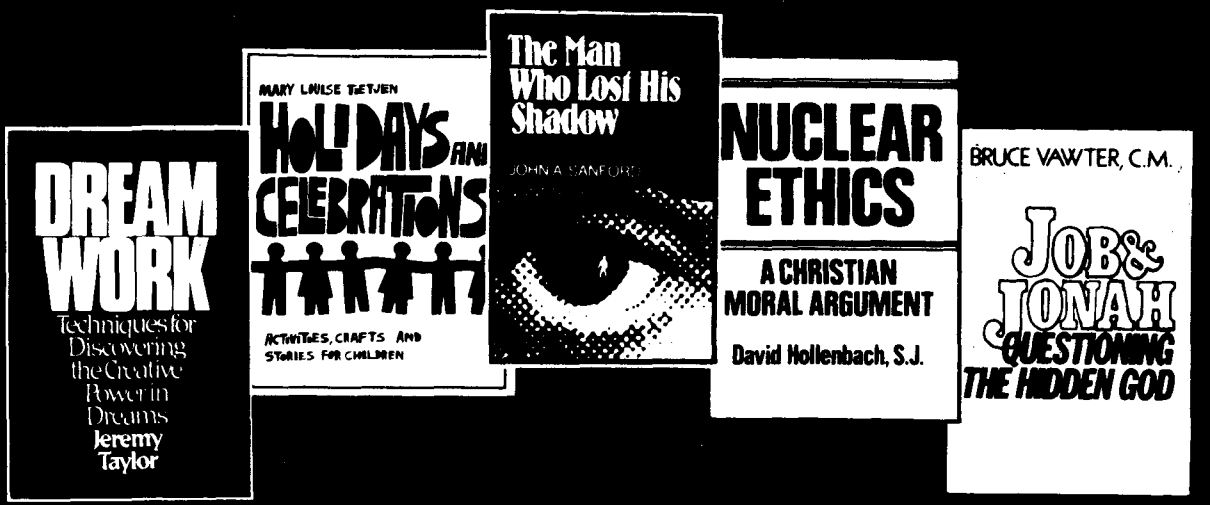

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